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No. LXXI.

M A R C H,

1861.

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	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.		
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.		
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.		
20	13	0	6	8	13	8	14	0	7	0
30	16	0	8	0	16	0	16	8	17	0
40	19	8	9	12	20	0	20	0	20	0
50	22	8	11	4	23	0	23	8	24	0

CIVIL.									
AGE.	ONE YEAR.		THREE YEARS.		FIVE YEARS.		SEVEN YEARS.		
	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	Half-yearly.	Quarterly.	
	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	Rs. As.	
20	11 0	5 8	11 0	5 8	11 8	5 12	12 0	6 0	
30	13 8	6 12	14 0	7 0	14 0	7 0	14 8	7 4	
40	16 0	8 0	16 0	8 0	16 0	8 0	16 8	8 4	
50	19 0	9 8	20 0	10 0	20 0	10 0	21 8	10 12	

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MILITARY OR NAVAL.							
AGE.	WITH PRO-FITS.		WITHOUT PRO-FITS.		ANNUAL ENGLISH RATES.		
	Half-yearly.	Quar-terly.	Half-yearly.	Quar-terly.	£.	s.	d.
20	Rs. As.	Ra. As.	Ra. As.	Ra. As.	1	18	8
30	23 8	11 12	18 0	9 0	2	8	10
40	27 0	13 8	23 8	11 4	3	3	0
50	31 8	15 12	28 8	13 4	4	5	6

CIVIL.							
AGE.	WITH PROFITS.				WITHOUT PROFITS.		
	Half-yearly.		Quarterly.	Rs.	As.	Quarterly.	
	Rs.	As.					
20	21	0	10 8	16	0	8 0	
30	24	0	12 0	19	8	9 12	
40	29	8	14 12	24	8	12 4	
50	37	0	18 8	31	0	15 8	

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13th. Premiums are payable either annually, half-yearly or quarterly, and on certain conditions monthly, and a grace of 28 days is allowed for such payments, and claims are paid should death occur within that period. Policies can be revived within three months after the premium has become due on proof of health and payment of fine, and within six months at the discretion of the Board.

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December, 1860.

Agents and Secretaries.

Wm. Kaye

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

MARCH 1861.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

MARCH 1861.

ART. I.—*The Bengal Gradation List, 1860.*

THE removal of the quasi-empire of the Court of Directors, a Board which stood so long between British Empire and British India, has given to the people of Britain an uninterrupted view of the people of India, for whose welfare they are now directly responsible. And, although Parliament may still turn a deaf ear to any one, who endeavours to check profligate jobbing on the part of whig Secretaries of State, yet there are not wanting indications that the habitual good feeling and sense of duty of JOHN BULL will lead him, ere long, to turn his attention to the management of the fine, but embarrassed estate which he has inherited from JOHN COMPANY. The servants who acquired and managed the estate referred to, will, very naturally, be taken to task pretty closely for any shortcomings on their part which may have injured the tenants, or affected the amount of the rents. It may, ultimately, be found, that they have for the most part done their work well and wisely, unless overborne by interference from the Great House; but it may also be thought that they had become fat and lazy on high pay, and a too hereditary routine of succession and promotion.

At any rate, the Indian Civil Service is likely to undergo some amount of change, and three plans present their claims to attention.

1st. Do away with the Monopoly as regards the "Uncovenanted," i. e. let every man in the service of the Indian Government hold any office; this has been partly done in Oudh and the Punjab.

2nd. Do away with the Monopoly altogether, and let Candidates, either from England or from any other part of the Empire, be appointed to Civil posts in India, as to Consulships and Colonial posts.

3rd. Retain the Monopoly, with or without modifications, as regards the administrative service; but give purely judicial posts to trained Lawyers.

MARCH, 1861.

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1st. There are Indian officials here and there, whose exclusion from a full career is as bad for the public as for themselves. These should be treated like deserving non-commissioned officers in the army; presented with covenants. This was recommended by Mr. H. Ricketts, a Member of the Civil Service, who had largely studied the subject.

2nd. The complete destruction of administrative Monopoly is the plan which has most arguments (of an abstract kind) in its favor; and which is the most open to practical objections. Indian administration is as much a profession as Medicine or Law; its practice therefore equally demands a diploma for the protection of the public. Whenever an inefficient diploma-holder finds his way into the profession, by all means let him be discouraged and sparingly employed; but you gain nothing by allowing uncertificated persons to be inflicted on an unprotected public, at the caprice of men in power, either here or at Home.

3rd. The chief complaints against the present servants are on judicial grounds, and they are, in this respect, tried in a way no body of men could stand. No one denies that they are courageous, energetic rulers; many of them benevolent; and a large proportion efficient in a way that may be rough, but is not unsuited to rough duties. But, partly through the action of the Legislature,* and partly through the customs of a people long inured to despotism, and prone to seek in litigation the exercise of enmity denied to open force, the Magistrates of India have become vested with a far too large amount of equitable jurisdiction, over the persons and property of the people. If a man is ousted from land, or deprived of his wife by a seducer, or if his servants leave him, or his labourers fail in their engagements; instead of suing for damages in a Civil Court, he comes before the *Hakim*, ("the protector of the poor," &c.) and prays that there may be an injunction issued for the fulfilment of the contract. Now it is obvious that this system is easily abused. Those who are most anxious to obtain an injunction from a foreigner, living at a distance from the scene, and immersed in much of the business which in England is shared between the Parson, the Squire, the Poor Law Guardian, the Land Bailiff, the Trustee of Roads, and the Sheriff of the County; those will not be always the men who have a real grievance. When it is also remembered that the people have a strong social organisation of their own, and that the method of redress by caste arbitration is an ancient institution of the Country, there will be no difficulty in understanding, that the desire to injure an enemy may as often influence the Plaintiff on the

* Act VII of 1819, IV of 1840 &c.

Magistrate's "Miscellaneous File," as a real sense of wrong. That description of Plaintiff, who passes by the public opinion of his village or his brotherhood to refer to a remote alien, is either wrong or an unusually oppressed individual. In the infant constitution of the Punjab, the ignorant impartiality of the European officer was united with the better information of the less trusted Punchayut; and the Magistrate was at liberty, either to arbitrate a case himself or to call in the aid of local opinion. This appears an excellent theory: if it does not work well in practice, the only alternative certainly appears to be, to take all judicial power, not of a purely correctional character, from the administrative department, and vest it entirely in the hands of men especially trained and selected for the Bench. That all these officers should be Barristers is not likely, though the proposal is not a wonderful one, considering that the agitation had its origin in Calcutta, where the learned Supreme Court Bar has always produced very active contributors, both to the speech making at Calcutta meetings, and to the leading articles of the Calcutta Newspapers. There is no peculiar divinity hedging the character of a Barrister, who may be as ignorant as any Layman. And seeing that the codes of India differ and are likely to differ from the barbarous congeries of precept and precedent—Bentham's "Grimgribber"—which the forensic hierarchy contrives to hold together in England, it does not appear why English Barristers, even from the Supreme Court, should enjoy any peculiar claims as of right, to seats on the Indian Bench. Moreover it is only the higher posts which would offer much inducement to men of that class, unless indeed we are to be inundated with the whole of the worthless and the briefless of the British Bar. The correct theory would undoubtedly be, to let the Pleaders of the united Courts, which are now understood to be on the eve of formation, have the right to the lower appointments, the holders of these being gradually promoted to the higher.

The administrative service must always be, in practice, a distinct profession. How the selections are to be made for it will greatly depend upon *whether India is to be a colony or not*. This is not a question of what is desirable, but of what is feasible. If it is possible to make India a *Colony*, it is no doubt desirable that her affairs should be administered on a colonial plan; but obviously all objections to the present system, on the score of its being ill-suited to a Colony, are the merest begging of the question. The existing system is historically known to be founded on the opposite theory. Into whatever extremes the policy of the

Court of Directors may at any time have led them, and whatever reproaches may be brought against them for the discouragements they offered to Christianity, or to immigration of Europeans; whatever preference they may have given in the lower grades of their service to Asiatics, or whatever privileges they may have attached to the class of Europeans who filled the superior offices; the whole is referable to the feeling that India was a foreign *Dependency*, occupied by tribes possessing each a civilisation and a religion of its own, in whose interest it was to be ruled by whomsoever the trust might be reposed in. Thus arose the principle of native administration and European control; and though it is not difficult to amass proofs that the former has been corrupt and the latter lax, yet it will be premature to dwell on that until you have proved, either that a *Dependency* of the sort described can be otherwise ruled, or else that colonisation is feasible. The burthen of proof as regards the latter point, at least, is clearly laid on those who impugn existing results. To such as, in spite of all the evidence, hold that Englishmen can colonise a tropical country, densely peopled by races in legal possession of every foot of land, and whose frugality and acclimation enables each of their members to live on one-third of what is required for the support of an Englishman of corresponding position, it is sufficient to say, "Come and try." No one now keeps them out; it is absurd to say that the state of the Courts or the feeling of the authorities deters them; for instances can be shown all over India, and in Countries far more despotically governed, of Englishmen who make large fortunes and reside in peace. Assuming then that colonisation, on a large scale, and in the strict sense of the word, is impossible, we have the simple question left; can a foreign *Dependency* be fairly and beneficially ruled by England, unless the indigenous residents play a large part in the administration; and unless the superior morality and political science, of which she is supposed to be the depositary, be constantly infused into that administration, by the control of carefully selected and largely trusted Englishmen.

Two important observations may, no doubt, be made, one upon each branch of this question. It may be said that Asiatic underlings are apt to be corrupt and tyrannical. It may also be said, that the Members of the Civil Service, though better selected now than formerly, still fail in Anglicising the administration. But there is no system in this imperfect world to which similar objections may not be made: pessimism is as bad as optimism; the MORAL of faults being proved against an established working system is, that *they* should be removed, not the system, for

which you have no proved substitute. Granting that there is considerable force in each observation, their united weight will not prove that the system must be destroyed; it is the very foppery of politics to require abstract perfection, and object to every thing existing, merely because it is capable of improvement.

The few thousands of Planters and Merchants, Barristers and Attorneys, Wine dealers and Italian ware-housemen, who find it profitable to pursue their respective and respectable callings in this Country, are not justly entitled to be considered "the Public of India;" nor can the Newspapers, conducted with various ability, for their amusement, be justly treated as its "Press." The administration of India, if such authorities are to be consulted, should be carried on through the medium of Europeans, exclusively or almost so. We have already endeavoured to see how far this would be just to the people of the Country, in whose interest it is assumed that we are to rule. (And this, even supposing that the service would attract a sufficient number of qualified Europeans.) If, on the contrary, we could obtain genuine native Public opinion, (the opinion of the educated classes is what is usually understood by the term,) we should assuredly find that the exclusion of natives from the posts of greatest power and rank would be very severely felt as a grievance. The present system steers a middle path between the two. Its object is to give to the educated native a fair career in the public service, for which he is so well fitted by intimate knowledge of the dialects and institutions of the masses; while to the latter it gives such protection against the corruptibility and the openness to prejudice and partiality which must adhere to a native official, as may be afforded by the supervision of a carefully selected class of chief officers, whose appointments, though costing the state but little in the aggregate from their numerical paucity, are yet sufficiently valuable to those who hold them, to call forth their best intellectual and moral energies.

Of all the opponents of this system the ablest and most consistent is the present editor of the *Hurkaru*. This writer, in his issue of the 27th October 1860, had an article, which, though containing many assertions from which we dissent, is terminated by a very sensible proposal: we refer chiefly to the following words; "If the Government desire that its work should be done as well as it is at Home they" (Query "it"?) "must recognise the * * * * division of labour, and make allowances for natural differences of talent and that aptitude which is the fruit of experience. A civilian of the present day is a Jack of all trades, and consequently

botches every work entrusted to him. * * * Under the present system before any official can make himself acquainted with his ordinary duties in one department he is removed to another, the duties of which are as dissimilar as those of a Physician and a Stock Broker. But if it were understood that in future officials would be confined to that department for the work of which they showed a particular aptitude, men would be encouraged to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with what was to be henceforth the business of their lives."

Now the assumption, that no division of labour is attempted by the Government, appears to us an exaggeration. On the frontier we have the brilliant Military Governors of whom so many have made their names household words wherever the English language is spoken. Sir H. Lawrence, Sir H. Edwardes, and General Nicholson were never to our knowledge, offered the post of Sudder Judge or Financial Secretary, and the Magistrates and Collectors of the North Western Provinces usually spend twenty years in the administrative branch of the Service, and even when made Judges it is mainly for correctional purposes; there is however too much foundation for the Hurkaru's strictures as contained in our extract; and all attempts that are made to reform the Civil administration of British India should proceed in the direction indicated therein. At the commencement of these remarks, for instance, it was shown that India not being at present a Colony, ought not to be treated on Colonial principles. But on the other hand there are parts of India, few and of small area, which are essentially colonial. Those which are most conspicuously so, are the Presidency towns, and there, to a considerable extent, colonial methods already exist. Similarly, in all towns where there is a seat of Government there might be a small *cordon*, within which English laws should be administered in Criminal and Civil cases by trained lawyers. But this remedy of "trained lawyers" is no *panacea*. What would be the use of a trained lawyer among the tribes of the Khyber, or even in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, where almost every dispute is about a boundary or a herd of cattle, susceptible of ready arbitration by an honest man of local experience, utterly unintelligible to an ordinary foreigner whatever be his legal acumen? That is to say, the management of a rude tribe requires qualifications differing from those needed to decide an intricate question of bailment.

It may be objected that this is a bald commonplace, but it cannot be denied that it is one that has been more generally recognised by the rulers of India than by their opponents—and every division of labor in which it is ignored will fail. The

Government of India has had a separate set of officers for frontier Districts, for interior Districts, and for political duties; and the appearance of confusion may be a good deal traced, to the custom of requiring every Civil Officer to matriculate as an assistant to a District Officer; than which, however, it would be difficult to devise a plan, better suited to give young officers a practical knowledge of, and interest in the people, with whose affairs they are more or less to be connected by the "business of their lives;" and the men who would let loose the Inns of Court upon such a field, would certainly not obtain "the advantages of a division of labor," any more than they would "open the Civil Service." The division of labor is a very good term, and may be very beneficially applied as far as circumstances permit. That it is not applicable without reserve to European labor in India, will be gathered from observing the fact that, in India, Milliners usually deal in wine and gunpowder; and that Newspapers are often conducted by persons who began life in other ways. But those who think labor can be divided by the exclusive employment of "trained lawyers," must be either enthusiasts without brains, or barristers without practice.

It may be objected to the Indian Government's "division of labor," that Henry Lawrence and the other distinguished men above referred to were not members of the Civil Service. For the present purpose, however, they *were* so; that is they were covenanted officers in Civil employ; and it is very possible, that the Civil Service might be largely regenerated, if the officers for administrative duties were selected from the staff of the Army, to a far greater extent than is at present the case. If the Punjab scheme of administration could then be applied to the Mofussil generally, and a good Civil Code be launched with the new Penal Code; a sound system of procedure in each department, and a reformed Police being added, there would be little fear for the defensive future of the Rural Districts. The colonial portions of the empire might have any amount of "trained lawyers" that they were pleased to pay for, and if any man envied such privileges he might be allowed, under due restrictions, to indulge his eccentric taste by a writ of *certiorari*. The majority would probably be of a mind with those Spanish Americans, mentioned by Mr. Helps, who petitioned the Court of Madrid, that "no lawyers might be sent to the Colony." It is to be noted further that Administrative Reform is no new thing in India. Her rulers have not, it is true, introduced an "open" Legislative Council or Parliament, in which Calcutta shopkeepers should have the power of paralyzing the action of Government, and Planters be enabled to reduce their ryots

to the condition of Gibeonites : and surely the instance of New Zealand, where agrarian questions are at length being settled by the primitive arbitrament of force, is a very good ground for congratulating the rulers of India, on their not having introduced colonial principles of Government into a country, which we hold on such a very uncolonial basis.

But, once allow that the administration of British India must, for the present, be based on despotic principles and carried out through official agency, and it cannot be denied, that with the single exception of destroying the covenant, every thing that could be called a bar to administrative Reform has now been removed. This covenant is, in fact, a commission. Men are induced to leave the arduous paths of life in Europe by the guarantee of certain advantages in point of rank and remuneration in Indian exile, in order that the pedantry and narrow knowledge of a bureaucracy may be tempered, and its corruptibility checked by the constant influx of the best blood of England—speaking of course, in a metaphorical, not in a patrician sense. It is exceedingly easy to shew objections to this plan ; the political danger of closing the higher ranks against the Natives of the country, the hardship of arresting the career of the man who has risen from the ranks, and most of all the grave possibility (to say the least) of indolence being generated in the minds of the favored few who have received the above mentioned guarantee. But the instance of Russia, where every official rises from the ranks, and where official corruption and *esprit de corps* are crippling the gigantic forces of the empire, may serve to shew that an escape from these evils is worth buying at a considerable price. In point of fact this price has been gradually diminishing of late years. From the constitution of the highly paid and carefully trained Civil Service by Lord Wellesley, down to the introduction of the competitive system by Lord Stanley, a little more than half a century elapsed, during which the Service produced a few very black sheep, a certain number of average men, and sufficient great hearts and minds to consolidate an empire, which was the admiration of every foreigner who visited it, until ruined by Reforming sentimentality and Foreign office intrigue. To the Civil Service of those days we owe the political successes of Metcalfe, Jenkins and Elphinstone, which gave us internal peace for nearly forty years ; the patient investigation of Holt Mackenzie, R. M. Bird and Thomason, crowned by the most complete knowledge and record of agricultural customs, rights and tenures ; the liberality of F. Shore, the learning of Elliott, and finally the splendid services of the Great Mutiny, when a Native Army, wrought to Prætorian insolence by the result of

wars the Indian administration disapproved, and indulgences they were powerless to prevent, was put-down partly by the unlooked for aid of the local officers—typified by John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery—of whom in one Presidency (the North Western Provinces) one-third died at their posts, while the survivors did wonders with scarcely a soldier on whom they could rely.

There were grievous faults in the old Service; many of the young officers lived for years, a life of idleness and extravagance from which sometimes nothing could set them free. Still lives the memory of P—ddy H—s, who passed twenty-five years of service in journeying to and fro between Calcutta and London, with an occasional trip to Simla, and who never got beyond an Assistantship in the Customs; of—who passed his quarter of a century in *College*, and retired on his annuity without having ever “passed,” or done an hour’s work; of—who went to Court stark naked, acquitted murderers, kept his English records on the floor, and was finally removed by a troop of horse; of the Customs Agent at Ghazeeepore, who “cut” Lord Hastings for only giving him £7000 per annum, in recompense for his signing R. B. B. on *rowanas* for half an hour while pulling his first *chillum* after breakfast, and who obstinately refused to write any thing but his initials unless his pay was increased; — but why multiply instances when the result is before us? “The Empire of the Middle Classes” remains, after all the shocks it has sustained, still sound, still an unexampled proof of the administrative skill and virtue of Englishmen. Where is the Roman Proconsulship, the Spanish Conquest in America which can compare with her? or who that has seen French Algeria would prefer the system prevailing there? Moreover such as the old service was, it has passed away, and it is not only idle but unfair to rake up objections against what has ceased to be, merely because you want a share of the lucrative posts, or think your commercial enterprises would prosper better if there were no administration but what you pleased. The few enthusiasts and the many malcontents, who from different grades of obscurity clamour against the existing state of things, are not raising their voices against the system which formed British India, and won the applause of Macaulay and Peel in England, as it did that of the best informed travellers of every rank from the Prince to the Printer, from Petersburg to Paris; but they are finding fault with a Service open to public competition from the best educated sons of the great Universities of Britain, and with the freest system under which any official organisation at all could be imagined as feasible.

A late number of the "Quarterly Review" contained a strong and carefully reasoned condemnation of the English competitive system, but carefully excepted that in the Indian Services. And indeed the faults of the two are as different as the conditions under which they act. The English competition is offered to men whose destinies will be humble and their salaries low, the higher posts being, by common consent, disposed of on very different grounds. The Indian competition, on the other hand, is intended to form a guide for selection of men, who will begin their public life with large powers over the persons and property of vast communities; while they may possibly end them as Pro-consuls of Provinces, or Prime Ministers of Empires. Obviously the objections brought against the competitive system for producing an article superior to its ends, and making men discontented with the nature of their duties, ought to be brought rather against the English than against the Indian system. But a writer in the *Saturday Review** has brought a charge against the competitive principle, which applies with greater force to that for the Indian administrative service than to that by which Clerks or Tidewaiters are selected in England. "Competitive examinations" says he "are under our present system the great motive power of all systems of education, and the desire to excel in them is accordingly strongest in the sort of mind which is naturally inclined to set a high value on juvenile successes. This is not a very good turn of mind. It implies a certain preciseness and formality of character, and a constant inclination to defer to established authority, and to attach great importance to the express approbation of recognised superiors. It follows from all this that competitive examinations are fit only for boys or lads, and that even with respect to them, they test only the lower kinds of merit, whilst all the higher qualities—originality, independence, and love of knowledge for its own sake—are positive disqualifications for success in them."

Now, whatever requirement there may exist in the English Clerkships for the higher kinds of merit here enumerated, must exist in a far stronger form, when the duties to be entrusted to the candidate are of such a far higher character as are those of Indian administration. Nay more, not only are such qualities unlikely to be successful in a competitive examination, but the advanced age at which the candidates are admitted to the Indian examinations has a special drawback of its own. It has been shewn that even under the old system a large proportion of the officers turned out good, and some were of the most splendid merit.

* Vol. 10 p. 551.

But this is not all; the old Civilians passed through a respectable test examination before entering Hailesbury, and while there had at least the option of obtaining a very high training under able and eminent teachers: but it is noteworthy, that some of the very best of Indian statesmen, Munro, Malcolm, Sleeman and Outram were officers of the army who had been chosen by haphazard, and received no preliminary training whatever. This can only be accounted for by *the doctrine of chances*; amongst a number of untried youths there must always be a certain number who possess latent abilities of the most brilliant kind. A competition set before men of twenty three years of age *actually eliminates this element*: at that age the candidate has completed, or almost completed that academical career by which young Englishmen test the relative powers of themselves and their contemporaries; and it will obviously not be those of first class qualities and attainments who will quit an opening career in England, for the questionable attractions of hard work and exile in a vile climate and amongst a vile race.

So far therefore as a branch of Indian administration demands special acquirements it may be better to make it a special service, than to continue to select its members from a general staff of officers, however open be the field of selection, and however carefully guarded the door of admission. For the department of account, for instance, in which the Civilians are generally considered to have most failed, it might be well if all promotion went in the line, and if the entrance were merely barred by a special examination in financial subjects, Indian and general. With regard to the judicial line, it has been shewn above that the duties in outlying provinces are chiefly correctional, and those familiar with the subject will admit, that among our ruder populations even Civil justice is more a matter of administrative ability than of legal detail; but there are Benches in India to which forensic experience and nicety of adjudication should be the only passports. This has long been conceded by the institution of Supreme Courts with jurisdiction classified into Criminal, Civil, Equitable, Ecclesiastical and Admiralty, in the Presidency towns. These courts are about to be amalgamated with the unchartered Courts of the old system, and it will be a great step should a special standard of fitness be henceforth adopted for all benches, on which, from the intricate character of litigation or the presence of large European communities, a jurisprudence of a complete kind is requisite.

But for preservation of peace among rough agriculturists, or ignorant inhabitants of Bazars, for the repression of violent crime,

the management of a complicated revenue system interwoven with the land, for all the rough work of rough societies, originality, independence, and energetic integrity should be the qualities chiefly, if not solely, demanded. These qualities may be possessed by men who enter the service late in life, and certainly competition is better than jobbery; but no men, who have discovered qualities such as were found in some of the old civilians, are likely to come into the Indian Service. Southey refused a writership at seventeen! and when he had no prospect of a maintenance, but what he could expect from the abilities of which he may have been precociously conscious:—the words which follow will be found in a Letter inserted in the first volume of his Life. “A man who feels must be in solitude there [in India]. Yet the comfort is that your wages are certain; so many years of toil for such a fortune at last. Is a young man wise who devotes the best years of his life to such a speculation?” Southey replied in the negative, and matters have not changed for the better since, the “wages” being no longer “certain,” nor “a fortune” usually made “at last;” while the chance of seeing your wife and children butchered, and of having to turn soldier at a moment’s notice, is added to the certainty of a debilitating climate and rapidly rising prices. These are the inducements held out to induce first class men to abandon their college fellowships, or their prospects in Westminster Hall.

But the case is widely different if you turn to younger men. Few lads of seventeen have the foresight of Southey, and the history of the past shews that the mere attraction of a red coat and a life of adventure will lead them in shoals to the uttermost parts of the earth. Now, if the principle of competition be extended from its new limits, of examinations, to its natural broad basis of active life, there seems no reason why the administrative service of India should not be recruited better than has ever yet been done—without destroying one advantage or withholding one guarantee—simply by taking its members from among those military officers who, after a certain period of regimental duty, shall be willing to give satisfactory proofs of their fitness, and to forego the future steps of military promotion. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit*; such has been the system which has made the Punjab the model Province of British India, which produced Nicholson and Lumsden, Lake and Edwardes, which enabled Sir John Lawrence to destroy the mutinous sepoys, or chain them up like beaten hounds, while he sent the whole of his available forces to wrest a falling empire from their triumphant brethren in Delhi. Nor must the “Uncovenanted servants” be forgotten. Many of these in the Punjab are men of good

English blood and education, attracted and retained by the knowledge that in that part, at any rate, of the Indian empire, there is no bar to a successful career. Several of these Gentlemen have been placed in charge of Districts, and it would be a manifest injustice to exclude them any longer from any advantages of position, that may be enjoyed by their Covenanted or Commissioned brethren. Our scheme, then, for administrative reform is simple, as regards the majority of those lower but most important and responsible posts, by means of which the business of the country is carried on.

Two subjects of greater dignity, though not, it may be, of superior usefulness remain to be briefly noticed. The Legislative Council, and the Executive Cabinet* of the Viceroy. A claim has been set up in several quarters, that as all classes in British India are now taxed, all classes should be represented in the legislature. To this there are several answers, each of which is perhaps sufficient of itself, but of which the accumulative force is surely irresistible to any impartial mind. The argument derived from abstract rights will hardly convince any one in this practical age. As Dr. Arnold (no friend of tyranny,) long ago observed "the correlative of Taxation is not Representation but Protection." No country could be governed for a day without a revenue, and the means of raising a revenue without taxation are yet to be discovered. Of all the duties of Governments the most generally recognised is the protection of life and property, while the states which are really governed by Representation may be counted on the fingers. A representative government is clearly a matter of expediency, the forms which suit one time or one place being unsuitable—often impossible—for the same place at different times, or for the same time in different places. The burthen of proof is therefore laid upon those who contend that British India is at present in a condition requiring representative Government. In point of fact, it is probably felt by such advocates that the Natives of the country would either not attend the council, or in such a feeble character as to be easily borne down by the representatives of the "European community," that is by a certain number of unsuccessful men of business converted into paid-demagogues. And what would be the action of such delegates? Is it not certain from all that we know of human nature, and from the consistent behaviour of the more active and noisy of that class for the past hundred years, that their chief aim in life would be to impede the action of the executive and to vilify its agents? And what practical result would be likely to come from such a course of conduct? If they could not produce a change of ministers,

could they produce any thing but a dead lock and stoppage to business never too famous for rapidity?

This brings us to the second question, the constitution of the Executive. Obviously a representative assembly can control the entire administration of a country, if by withdrawing support and confidence it renders necessary the substitution of new men in the posts held by persons who, under the name of Secretaries or Ministers, transact the business of the various Departments. But how would this work in a country where every Department is a profession in itself, of which the Head, for the time being, is or ought to be selected on account of an official fitness acquired and guaranteed by years of professional practice? Only conceive the new Executive which might be called into being by the action of a Liberal majority in the Legislature. If putting aside these factions, those who are interested in British India would combine to meet a real danger, there is one which may demand their best and most united energies. If "Government by Electric Telegraph" is to be developed much further, and if the messages are not only to be "Take care of Dowd," but "Give half a million to Cræsus," the time is not far off when we may at least save the salary of a Governor General, and pass under the reign of one who—in spite of his name—will be no king Log. The keystone of Administrative Reform for India will not be laid by turning the Legislative Body into a nuisance, whose necessary abolition will but facilitate the introduction of an irresponsible Despotism sitting at Whitehall; but by our all acting together with a calm earnestness that shall shew that "India must be governed in India" until the time comes when she may govern herself. In the meanwhile let us use, and keep in working order, the tools that we have. There is a body of eight hundred Civil Officers, many of whom have abundantly proved their capability for very difficult work, and all of whom are daily increasing their knowledge of a very intricate subject; there are a certain number of able and industrious subordinates competing with their superiors, with whom they are in some instances fit morally and intellectually to move on a par; and there are thousands of Military Officers who *must* be provided for, and many of whom possess an acquaintance with local language and customs, and a capacity for brilliant service, which only require to be elicited. Should there be any special posts, either on the office stool or on the judicial Bench, which require special qualifications, by all means let those qualifications be sought for. But let it never be forgotten that the administration of a quasi-continent, peopled by numerous races differing in every quality and char-

acteristic, except that of only obeying the firm will and the strong hand, is a strictly extra-parochial affair, and cannot be conducted on vestry principles. Let it be remembered how large a share of Indian shortcomings have always been due to English interference, and let some allowance be made for the imperfections of human nature, which, though not confined to Englishmen in India, are certainly not banished from among them.

It is the fashion with some soi-disant Reformers to affirm, that the Members of the Civil Service are a set of drones who live in idleness and clover for twenty-five years, and then return to Europe on a Pension of £1000 a year. To those who know India well it will not be necessary to observe that both statements are false. But readers at Home and Calcutta cockneys may be as well reminded of the history of India for the last half century, of the great men whose names have been already cited, of the civilization of Sindh and the Punjab, of the settlement of the North-Western Provinces, (whatever its correctness of principle, at any rate surely a work of labor,) and of the concurrent accounts of all travellers, British or foreign who have seen the interior of the country. In a former part of this article we cited the cases of some bygone black sheep of the flock; but the white sheep are surely a fair set-off; or would it be fair to condemn the whole body of gentlemen who have devoted their lives to India since the commencement of the present *régime*, on account of their having in their ranks a few 'hard bargains?' As to the pension, it is the most inconceivable delusion ever witnessed out of a conjuring booth. Every Civil Servant from the day he joins, contributes four per cent of his salary to an Annuity Fund. Every year a small proportion of those who have served longest are permitted to retire on an allowance of £500 a year, derived from the Fund formed by the accumulated subscriptions of their deceased comrades, supplemented by a Government Contingent. They are also at liberty to take the value of their own subscriptions, up to a second annuity of five hundred a year, calculated at ten per cent, or to make up the difference between what they may have paid and £5,000, or half a lakh of Rupees. Anything that may have accrued from the compulsory payments they have been making in excess of the last named sum is *forfeited* and a fine of £800 is demanded that the instalments of annuity may be paid quarterly and in advance. Men are not eligible to this retirement until they have been at least twenty-five years in the service; but no servant of twenty five years standing ever gets one of the available annuities, while on the other hand one

of thirty five years is chased from the service, whether entitled to an annuity or not. Such is the celebrated Civil Service Retirement! on which comment would be superfluous, were it not for the inroads on the rights and privileges of the Service now understood to be in contemplation. If the prizes of the Service are abolished or thrown open, and the pay of incumbents reduced, a Government presided over by a Royal Mistress, and conducted by British Earls, knights and gentlemen, is surely bound to give the disappointed employes the option of retiring. Especially is it the duty of Government to do this, and of "the Press" to urge it, if the majority of the service, owing to the system under which they have been selected and employed, are such useless encumbrances. Good faith and justice are as necessary as expediency to any complete measure of Administrative Reform.

Thus, therefore, we have attempted to shew the principles on which Administrative Reform for India should proceed. We have not been desirous of defending any particular existing system. As to writing up the old Civil Service, it is quite unnecessary; if its historical destruction did not speak for it, it has, at all events, ceased to exist; and we need not speak of the dead, whether for good or for evil. "Though one should smite him on the cheek, and on the mouth, he will not speak." It shall not be ours, either by praise or blame, to profane that repose. But it has appeared to us, and, we hope, to our reader, that some such men as the old Civilians, are still required to administer those parts of India which are still in the condition of foreign Dependencies, requiring a despotic system, but for which an European is better than an Asiatic Despot. Those parts which are becoming civilized and colonial in their character, seem to require a set of officials more obviously the servants of the Public, more numerous, not so highly paid, and more amenable to the constant action of public opinion. It has also been inferred from analogy, that for the former class of duties, the *personnel* now at the disposal of the Indian Secretary of State presents a large number of men of, at least, average ability, and far more than average experience; that there are probably a few great men latent in the service, and certainly some who are nearly, if not altogether, useless.

Before concluding, it may perhaps be proper that we should state, what we think the best way of securing the most serviceable position and career for the capable and the brilliant, while a method is pointed out for the elimination of the 'hard bargains,' without undue hardship to themselves. We consider that those of the old Civil Service and of the competitioners who have shewn aptitude for administration, should be allowed the option of entering the Staff-corps of the

Army on their respective grades. Something is due to these officers. They have left certain prospects in England in the hope of certain apparently guaranteed advantages in the Civil Service of this country, which have either ceased to exist already, or have come under the destructive touch of the future. Many of these men did good and gallant service for years before the Rebellion, were tried during that crisis as few men of their class are tried, coming out of the trial with the applause of Queen and country, and have continued since to work hard at duties now become distasteful, amidst the wreck of nearly all their old hopes, and under much cruel misrepresentation from those whose good opinion was once their greatest consolation. To reduce these men suddenly from the highest position in the country to one in which they have neither acknowledged position, nor security for their future; to turn the once independent servants of the Home Government into suitors for backstairs favor at Belvedere or Nainee Tal is too severe handling for old and faithful employes. The case of the competitioners is in some respects harder. In addition to the pay, many of them considered the social status a farther inducement when giving up academical prospects for the gilded chains of Indian servitude; and in their case, the withdrawal of the covenant will reland them hopelessly on their original platform. All alike, be they gentlemen or not, will have to contend and to compete with men possessed of more Parliamentary and connectional interest than themselves; and it is but a matter of bare right that they should be protected by a commission from the crown, as a recognition of their place in the service, and as something to fall back on when ill health or other accident throws them out of employ. The simplest way to do this is as before suggested. A number of the so-called Military Officers on the Staff-corps, have long ceased to be soldiers in anything but in title; and there is no reason why Captain Sword should hold his commission in the Staff-corps as well as his Deputy Commissionership, while Mr. Pen, his first cousin and contemporary in the Civil Service, should go on furlough to England on the footing of a clerk, and return to this country in the character of an adventurer. There are departments in which men will remain and rise during the whole period of their service. Such is the financial, and such, shortly, will be the judicial branch. Officers who elect to qualify for these need not perhaps be borne upon the strength of the Staff-corps, but this is a matter of detail.

We now come to the incapables, with whom the public are too often burthened, owing to the absurd injustice of the rules regarding the retirement of Civil Servants. It is a popular

notion that every member of this favored body is entitled to £1000 a year for life, in an elegant European retreat, immediately on completing his quarter of a century of Indian Service. In point of fact the Government gives him considerably less than £300 a year; and this he seldom gets before his thirtieth year of service. The Annuity, in reality, consists of two portions of £500 a year each: one made up partly from public money, and partly from a sort of tontine on lapsed subscriptions of members who have died before retiring. These subscriptions are compulsory, being deducted from the monthly pay of every officer to the tune of some five per cent. The other moiety is the value of the subscriber's payments at ten per cent., per annum. A large fine is demanded that the annuity may be paid quarterly in advance; and the subscriptions of any member, whose payments, owing to length of service and unusually high rates of salary, may have exceeded £5000, are forfeited. The first of these, if it were untrammelled by the second, is a fair provision. If every Civil officer could get £500 a year for life after his twenty five years of service, all would be well. The provision, though modest, would be not inadequate; and worn out, disappointed public servants, although they might have held poor posts, and saved no money, could be got rid of without cruelty. Instead of which, what is the working of the present system? The fund only provides a certain number of annuities in each year, and an officer out of employ must simply starve until it comes to his turn to obtain one. No wonder if some useless men encumber the service, owing to a natural reluctance on the part of their superiors to turn them entirely adrift.

There is another fund, the "Civil Fund" as it is called, out of which the widows and orphans of Civil Officers are provided for, which must of course be kept up. We cannot at the end of a paper on Administrative Reform, enter into the details of this subject; but would just mention, that it would be better for all parties if the former fund (that for Annuities) were entirely abolished, Government taking so much of the accumulations as was found necessary to guarantee the pension of £500 a year, and returning the balance to subscribers *ad valorem* on their past contributions. If only as a kind of compensation for all the injury it is bringing on the service, Government is bound to take up this matter in a liberal spirit. As for the Civil fund, we will only here observe, that even whig statesmen are, for the most part, English gentlemen; and that, were they not, the service may surely commit, in all confidence, the sacred cause of the fatherless and the widow, to a Monarch who is herself, both wife and mother.

ART. II.—*British Settlers.—Report of the Commissioners on Indigo Planting. 1860.*

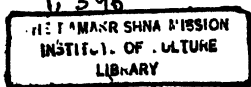
THE condition of colonies depends in a great measure on the character of their local government. Wise rulers frame equitable laws, and, appointing proper executive officers, keep the courts of justice pure, encourage enterprising capitalists to develop the mineral, agricultural and commercial resources of the country, afford every facility for the transport of traffic on roads, rivers and seas, and behold in the increasing numbers of settlers from the mother country, a wall of strength, a safeguard against anarchy, and the fairest prospect of preserving in a loyal and prosperous state the foreign possessions of their Sovereign. The results of their administration are seen in reclaimed wastes waving with corn, populous cities standing on the sites of primeval forests, flourishing manufactures, crowded marts, merchant fleets, and well attended schools, colleges and churches. Under their auspices colonies, larger than many kingdoms, passing over the intervening stage of youth, shoot up from infancy into manhood, and attain at once all the characteristics of ancient commonwealths. We speak not of fabled regions: this sudden rise and rapid progress are exemplified in the Australian settlements and other dependencies of the British crown, where Anglo-Saxons, putting forth indomitable energy, have turned the wilds of nature into great and wealthy states, which in the race of social and moral advancement vie with the mother country, and in their educational and ecclesiastical polity leave her far in the rear.

The effects of an unenlightened, weak and wavering government, are seen in the depression of agriculture, trade and commerce, and the departure of capitalists and labourers to other lands.

Emigration from a country may be a proof of its numerical strength, wealth and prosperity, as at present illustrated by the groups of well conditioned people that leave Great Britain for its distant dependencies; but emigration may likewise be a proof of the misery of a country, and the incapacity of the men to whom its destinies are confided. In the plains of India and on the declivities of her mountains, the jungles, capable of being cleared and made highly productive, are larger than the whole area of England. Why are they not brought under tillage, is a question which will naturally arise in every inquiring mind. Is it owing to the few-

ness of the inhabitants, and the want of labourers? On the contrary the increase of the population has been remarkably great, and many thousands of labourers have been sent to Ceylon, the Mauritius and the West Indian isles,—men in abject poverty, and conveyed to their destination at the expense of their future employers. With the most fertile land lying waste at their own doors, they have left their homes to supply the labour-market of foreign countries. This indicates something radically wrong in the laws or their administration, and is a fact which speaks volumes against our rule. It clearly shows that though the chief edible commodities of the people are selling at prices almost unprecedented, and extended cultivation would therefore yield ample profit, there is no adequate inducement to reclaim these vast wildernesses, and the labouring poor consequently resort to exile as their only refuge. Six thousand are to be shipped for the French colonies—six thousand living proofs of the bad Government of India, and of the wretchedness of its inhabitants. Not only do our senators facilitate the shipment of native labourers, but appear likely to effect the exodus of British settlers also. Indeed from the date of the battle of Plassey to the present time, nearly every year has witnessed legislation more or less antagonistic to European residents. Indifferent alike to the material prosperity of the country, the evangelization of its inhabitants, and to a free press, that powerful auxiliary in the administration of public affairs, the late East India Company, with a zeal worthy of the dark ages, occupied itself in deporting merchants, editors and clergymen. The few non-official English who stayed remained on sufferance, liable to be banished whenever capricious tyranny dictated. The reasonable request to be allowed to become owners of the land was not granted them. Natives might purchase estates, but the most to which Christians could aspire, was to be tenants of Hindoo and Mohommedan proprietors. When Parliament compelled the Company to adopt a more liberal policy, the local authorities, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, used their utmost endeavours to neutralize it, by throwing all possible impediments in the way of capitalists: every administration, except that of Lord Bentinck, was either hostile or apathetic; and Arms Bills, Black Acts, and the gagging of the press show but too plainly that the ancient spirit animates the present government. Legislators, on whom nature has not deigned to bestow the far-reaching minds of statesmen, not having a clear perception of what they are doing, may frame laws whose tendency is to discourage, ruin and expel British settlers, but the people for whose welfare they are enacted will be the first to deplore their results.

If a manufacture of incalculable benefit to the country be attended with partial evils, which all persons admit to be the case, it is the province of the state to make provision for the removal of the evils, not to destroy the manufacture itself. The most perfect work of art may chance to be out of order, but while susceptible of repair, no person, unless a child or maniac, would dash it to pieces. It may be said that for uprightness of intention, and solicitude to promote the prosperity of India, full credit should be given to the Members of Council: but these are not the only attributes requisite to govern an empire; wisdom is quite as necessary, and without it legislation must be little better than groping in the dark, and will seldom prove otherwise than hurtful to the realm. Virtue, of the most exalted character, cannot be accepted as an adequate apology for ignorance and wrong doing. Some of the greatest evils which have afflicted the world have sprung from motives and aspirations that would be honourable even to angels. Before giving credit to the government for a spirit of equity to British settlers, it may be well to inquire when it has been merited, and whether in the indigo crisis the acts of the executive deserved praise or condemnation. To form a right judgment on this important matter, it will be necessary to bear in mind that in 1857, while mutiny and rebellion shook the empire to its base lower Bengal was tranquil, and the planters, though ten, twenty and thirty miles apart from each other, remained on their estates with their wives and children unapprehensive of danger. No troops, policemen, or guards of any description surrounded their solitary dwellings. Had they been the tyrants they have been pictured, how was it that the pent up passions of the people they had oppressed did not, when so favourable an opportunity presented itself, burst forth in deeds of rapine and bloodshed? The temptation to anarchy was great, yet not a single murder was committed, not a shred of property stolen, nor the least change made in the respectful demeanour of their tenantry. During the whole period of the rebellion, the counties of Jessore, Pubna, Nuddea, Moorshedabad, Rajshaye, and Malda continued quiet, and no traveller in passing through them could have imagined, that the North Western portions of the empire were then in a blaze: but in the early part of last year these peaceful districts began to assume a different aspect; discontent and turbulence gradually appeared, and at length developed themselves in riots, which resulted in the flight, ruin and imprisonment of thousands of the peasantry, and the bankruptcy of enterprising capitalists. As no change had been made in the system of indigo-cultivation, and the planters are not even accused of having done any thing



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to outrage the feelings of the farmers, the question naturally arises, how was this disastrous state of things brought about? Several causes may have been at work, and to each in its proper place we shall advert.

In making his financial statement Mr. Wilson embraced the opportunity to speak about indigo-cultivation, and to give expression to the enlightened sentiments embodied in the following language: 'It is one of the few cultivations in India which attract British capital and skill to direct native labour. That is the kind of industry which, above all others, the Government would wish to encourage, and on that account alone they would feel precluded from placing any impediment in the way of its extension. It would be more in consonance with our views to remove what little duty there now is as soon as circumstances will permit. The value of the influence of European gentlemen settled in our county districts cannot, in our opinion, be overestimated, and it will be the steadfast policy of the Government to encourage it in every way we can.' Scarcely had these sentiments been uttered when Mr. Grant fell under suspicion, whether deservedly or not we shall presently inquire, of labouring to frustrate the design of that distinguished and now lamented statesman. A crusade was commenced against planters, productive of evils which malevolent persons doubtless contemplated with feelings of pleasure. Indeed there was much cause for exultation, for every day's proceedings proved increasingly destructive to the interests of British settlers. Speaking of the excitement and hostility of the peasantry, the Manager of the Sindoori Concern, under date of the 21st of February, writes: 'The ryots are fully under the impression that the Government wish to suppress the cultivation of indigo, and will support them against the planter, and they certainly have every reason for saying so, for they are often told so by the police.' And on the 29th he writes: 'The ryots are at present in a state of great excitement; in fact they are mad, and ready for anything. They daily try to burn our factory and seed-golahs. Most of our servants have left us from fear, as the ryots have threatened to murder them and burn their houses; and I fear that the few that are still with us will soon leave, for the ryots prevent them getting food from the neighbouring bazars. If some most stringent steps are not taken by the Government at once, none of us will be able to remain in the Mofussil, and then there will be a general loot of the factories—rather a serious state of affairs when you consider what is at stake. Even now it is not safe to ride from factory to factory. The whole country is up, and if it go on much longer in this way

'there is no saying what may happen. The police are all against us.' The manager of the Bengal Indigo Company states, that the disturbances in his concern are owing to the 'current belief, that the Government is determined on putting a stop to all indigo planting.' The Manager of the Carryoda factory writes on the 1st of March: 'I am sorry to say that the ryots of the Soobdy factory have been told by the ryots of Kadjoorah factory of the Goldar division, and those belonging to the Ailhass factory of the Sindoori division, to join with them to present a petition against us. My ryots said that they had nothing to complain of, whereupon they were told that they would not be allowed to remain in their villages. I am doing my best to keep them quiet; but the whole district is in revolution, and the mutinous ryots say they will not sow indigo, having the Lord Sahab on their side, who has told them they need not sow indigo if they do not like it.' Mr. Campbell, assistant in the Mulnath Concern, was attacked and beaten, and left for dead on the field. Mr. Hyde, assistant in the same Concern, was pelted with clods, and only saved himself by the speed of his horse.*

The out houses of Chandpore, in the Goldar Concern, and the factory houses of Kadjoorah, in the Lokenathpore Concern, were burned down. Three hundred men attacked the dwelling house at Buckrabad in Malda, and made a bonfire of the property it contained. In the attack on the factory at Bauigram in Moorshedabad two men were killed and several wounded. Since the above events transpired, two factories have been destroyed by fire in the county of Rajshaye.

The statement, that the farmers have an impression that the Government is hostile to indigo and has prohibited its further cultivation, is confirmed by gentlemen who are in no way personally interested in the matter. A. T. Maclean, Esq. Magistrate of Damurhuda, in his evidence before the Commission says: 'During the months of July, August, and September of last year, I was residing in an indigo factory in Damurhuda, there being no residence for a magistrate in those parts; and being the height of the rains, it was impossible for me to live in a tent. During those three months I have no recollection of any complaints being brought to me, or any expression of feeling for or against indigo, being made. In February, when I rejoined my appointment, I found the manager of Lokenathpore and the villagers of Joyrampore at issue. Mr. Tweedie and his head servants on one side, and the mullicks and the chief villagers on the other, were, on my recommendation to the magistrate, bound over to keep the peace.'

* Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, pp. 350-1.

'The discontent spread by degrees through the district. It seemed to be the impression in Durgapore and in the northern part of the Hardi Thanna, that the Government had prohibited the cultivation of indigo. I endeavoured to disabuse their minds of this idea, but with no success. They said it was the order of the Bara Saheb that they were not to sow indigo any more. Latterly I heard it said, that people had come from Calcutta, and exhibited written orders to the effect, that there were penalties for sowing; but though I endeavoured to get hold of these orders I never succeeded in getting a sight of them. The petitions presented were numerous, they were vague and general, the specific charges were few in number, and as far as I can remember were not well founded. Villagers going from village to village, exciting each other to join in a league to refuse to sow indigo, was, I believe, a practice.*

W. H. Herschel Esq. Magistrate of Nuddea, states: 'On the 20th February with the exception of Santipore and two police-divisions on the Bhagiroti, the whole of the rest of the district was strongly excited on the subject of indigo planting. One general idea seemed to prevail, that the cultivation of indigo was stopped by the orders of Government, and a good deal of irritation prevailed because they thought that these orders were not being carried out. When I went to Khatgarra the ryots told me that they had broken up the indigo that had been sown because Government wanted to put a stop to the cultivation of it.† 'The ryots have an impression,' says the Rev. J. Long, 'that the Government is on their side, and this has emboldened them to rise.' The Rev. C. H. Blumhardt states: 'The ryots have certainly lately been under the impression that they had the support of Government, and particularly that of the Lieutenant Governor, and that I suppose has inspired them with that boldness and energy with which we now see them come forward.‡ The Rev. F. Schurr observes: 'I cannot trace the origin of the change which has occurred within the last six months, but the perwannis have had a great deal to do with it,—I mean the Lieutenant Governor's and Mr. Herschel's.'§

Was the opinion that the Government is hostile to indigo, and resolved to stop its cultivation, founded on words and acts which indicated the conclusions the farmers every where drew from them? We are disposed to think that the natives, following their usual course of reasoning, could not have interpreted

* Report of the Indigo Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 32-3-4.

† Ditto ditto ditto pp. 4-8.

‡ Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 124.

§ Ditto ditto ditto p. 68.

the intentions of the authorities as otherwise than antagonistic to the planting enterprise. The illegal proclamation made by the Magistrate of Baraset was a direct interference with capital and labour, and could have been issued under no other government in the civilized world.

'Proclamation No. 1603, to the Daroga of Kolarooah. Be it known.'

A letter of the Magistrate of Baraset, dated the 17th August 1859, has arrived, enclosing extract of a letter, No. 4516, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 21st July 1859, and addressed to the Nuddea Commissioner, which, in referring to certain Indigo matters, states that the ryots are to keep possession of their own lands, sowing thereon such crops as they may desire; that the Police should take care that neither Indigo Planters nor other persons should interfere with the ryots; that Indigo planters shall not be able, under pretence of the ryots having agreed to sow indigo to cause indigo to be sown by the use of violence on the lands of those ryots; and that if the ryots have indeed agreed to do so, the Indigo Planters are at liberty to sue them for the same in the Civil Court; the Fouzdaree Court having no concern at all in that matter; for the ryots can bring forward numerous objections to their cultivating indigo, and in respect of their denial of the above agreement.'

'Therefore this general Perwannah is addressed to you, that you may act in future as stated above.'

'The 20th August 1859.*'

Speaking of a report current in the South Eastern part of the county of Nuddea, to the effect that Government was opposed to the cultivation of Indigo, E. Drummond, Esq. the Magistrate, says: 'This report, I believe, to have been spread in particular instances, by designing persons to do their immediate neighbours harm, but I have no doubt it owes its origin to the occurrences in Baraset, and that it is rapidly spreading, and will do much damage in this district, if not checked at once.†'

Cultivators, who had received advances and entered into contracts to sow indigo, are deliberately told, that in keeping or breaking their engagements they will be allowed to consult their own inclination. Were a similar proclamation to be issued respecting debts and rent, neither money-lenders nor revenue officers would be able to realize a farthing, and both the state and bankers would become insolvent. It is idle to

* Blue Book, Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 355.

† Ditto ditto p. 376.

say such a catastrophe was not contemplated. Men who know the people foresaw the order could lead to no other result, and the inability of a magistrate to comprehend the tendency of his own actions, shows that he was grossly unfit for the situation he was appointed to fill. Many copies were made of the proclamation, and it gradually found its way through all the indigo districts in Lower Bengal; the police, though the most indolent men in the world, were industrious to make it known, and are thought to have been well remunerated for their services. Every where the farmers put the same interpretation upon it, and believed it to be a permission from Government to defraud the planters, by declining to sow indigo for the crop of which they had received payment in whole or in part. Native landlords generally showed themselves unfriendly to the planter, and paid, it is believed, emissaries to travel through the excited districts, who encouraged the turbulent to continue in the lawless course in which they had entered, and by the dissemination of false intelligence, and the use of promises and denunciations, constrained the well disposed, who were peaceably pursuing their usual labours, to abandon their fields, and join the insurrectionists. Letters were addressed to the headmen of villages, urging them to employ the whole of their influence to oppose British Settlers, and superior pleaders despatched from Calcutta to defend the cultivators in all suits for breach of contract which were brought against them.

Had a document of a similar character been addressed to English workmen during the recent strikes, it would have been productive of the most disastrous consequences, but British statesmen refused to interfere between the contending parties, and reserved their power to prevent breaches of the peace. The entire responsibility of this proclamation has been supposed to belong to the Honorable Mr. Eden, and consequently much opprobrium has been heaped upon him; which his statements before the Commission did not tend to remove. We read his evidence with care, and it reminded us of a criticism on Milton's Lucifer. There is nothing sneaking about him: he is bold, and braves the opinions of the universe. A large portion of the blame arising from this document must however be attributed to a person in very high authority. It appears that the proclamation was founded on a letter of the Lieutenant Governor, of the 21st of July 1859, to which it bears a striking resemblance. Mr. Eden says: 'The wording of the Government letter is this; "The ryots may confess the en-

"engagement and still have many irresistible pleas to avoid the consequences the planter insists upon." The wording of the Deputy Magistrate's Purwannah is; "The Criminal Court has no concern in these matters, because notwithstanding such contracts or such consent withheld or given, ryots may urge unanswerable excuses against the sowing of indigo." The wording of my letter was; "Such promises can only be produced against the ryots in the Civil Court, and the magisterial authorities have nothing to do with them, for there must be two parties to a promise, and it is possible that even the ryots whose promises or contracts are admitted may still have many irresistible pleas to avoid the consequences the planter insists upon."*

There have however been other agencies at work besides the proclamation. The speeches of the Lieutenant Governor in his tour through the County of Nuddea, and the orders issued through his Secretary to the Commissioners of the respective indigo districts, seem to have been as influential for evil as the Baraset document. In attempting to exculpate himself from having given cause for the report that farmers might take advances, and with impunity leave their engagements unfulfilled, Mr. Eden states 'The Magistrate of Jessore, in the extract of his letter which you have forwarded to me, says that the rumour in the Jessore district was with reference to some expressions which were supposed to have been made use of by the Lieutenant Governor at Nuddea.' 'I think,' says the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, 'that the incitement came quite unintentionally from the present Lieutenant Governor, from some remarks made by him when visiting Kishnaghur in 1859, to the effect that the ryots should be left free to cultivate indigo or not as they chose. The excitement caused by this was strengthened by the letter addressed to Mr. Grote on the subject, by the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in October 1859, about a complaint against the planter of Banaberria. This led the ryots to believe, that the Government were on their side, and in favour of their refusing to cultivate indigo.† Even the Governor General observes. 'It is much to be regretted that the proclamation issued by the commissioner of Nuddea was so incomplete as not to take cognizance of the position of those ryots who are under engagements to sow indigo in years subsequent to the present year. It is to be regretted that the instructions under which the proclamation was framed did not take distinct notice of

* Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 589.

† Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 181.

'the cases of such ryots. The Governor General in Council has reason to believe that in some instances ryots in the above mentioned position considered themselves to be set free from obligations which it certainly was not the intention of the Lieutenant Governor to overlook; and I am to request that, His Honor will consider whether measures should not now be taken to place the matter before the ryots in its true light.'*

Confirmation is lent to the truth of these statements by the spirit Mr. Grant has exhibited. He is occasionally oblivious of the dignity of his office. Planters, who have invested millions in a laudable enterprise, who are the owners of estates in some instances covering an area of many miles, and who in any other country would be addressed in respectful language, are stigmatized as 'these strangers,'† and the cultivators of the soil to whom they make advances, designated capitalists. Indigo property to a large amount has been destroyed, and from the insecurity which is every where felt, that which remains has been reduced more than fifty per cent in value; emissaries are scouring the country, deterring well-disposed peasants from following their avocations, and breathing vengeance against factory servants, should they continue to work for their masters. Village after village has repudiated the payment of rent; lands which the planter had purchased and was accustomed to cultivate by his own labourers, ryots seize and appropriate to their own use; troops are located where a soldier has not been required for the last hundred years; gun-boats have cruised on rivers that never bore warlike craft; collisions have taken place in which men have been wounded and slain; yet the Lieutenant Governor complacently declares there is only 'a commercial disagreement between two classes concerned in a particular trade,' and the word 'confusion,' applied to the present state of the country, is not 'justifiable.'‡ In the judgement of a ruler who has made the wonderful discovery of governing mankind by writing machiavelian minutes, what degree of anarchy will render the use of the obnoxious word appropriate? Is it not to be employed till the provinces committed to his care be irretrievably ruined, and the grave close on all European settlers?

In a recent suit it is said to have been discovered that a contract written on a stamp-paper was dated three years before the stamp itself was sold at the shop of the vendor. If correct, this

* Lord Canning's Letter of the 31st. of August 1860, respecting Mr. Grant's Minute.

† Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 196, para. 7.

‡ Mr. Grant's Minute, para. 4.

statement would prove that some one had been guilty of forgery and deserved to be punished; but Mr. Grant deems it a sufficient reason to brand, in the 35th paragraph of his minute, the whole of the planting community. 'It must doubtless have been agreeable to the planters when their suits were tried in such a fashion, that decrees were obtainable on agreements purporting to be four years old, though written on stamps which were in the vendor's shop one year ago.' Among British settlers there are as many high-principled persons, who would shrink from the least approach to villany, as can be found in any other section of European Society; yet he heaps opprobrium on the virtuous and vicious alike, and condemns the body for the reputed fault of a single member. If this style of reasoning is to be tolerated, no reputation will be safe; the slanderer may breathe his pestilential exhalations on the purest and most exalted characters. He may take the license to affirm, that because a Raikos had to fly the country to elude the pursuit of justice, all Indian civilians are speculators, and because one member of a family was supposed to be implicated in the failure of a certain bank, which revealed an astonishing amount of knavery, all the other members of it are rogues. The mere mention of such logic is enough to expose its absurdity, and show the great want of moral propriety in the person who can use it.

With the view of prosecuting the culprit, had the crime been really perpetrated, the Indigo-Planters' Association in the Metropolis requested the commissioner of Nuddea to send down the bond to which reference has been made. After a delay of twenty days it was reluctantly given, and on the 22nd of October appeared in the columns of the Calcutta "Englishman." From a perusal of the document we perceive that no forgery whatever was committed, or even so much as contemplated; though the date is wrong in one place, owing to a clerical error of the native writer, it is correctly stated in the body of the contract. Thus an instrument which had not been read through, for had it been, the grave blunder could not have been made, is said to prove the perpetration of a crime of the most disreputable character. What a dark picture does this present of the courts and the reckless manner of their procedure. Without taking the trouble to ascertain the contents of the bond Messrs. Bell, Herschel, Lushington, and Grant use it with unsparing severity to injure the reputation of the planters; and now the truth is disclosed, if possessed of the least sensibility, must feel themselves in the predicament of men who have merited reproach and contempt. Had they been officers in Britain, after such flagitiousness, they would not have been

permitted to hold their appointments another hour; they may therefore thank Providence for fixing their destiny in India.

Mr. Grant is accused of interfering with the administration of justice by forcing on the executive authorities his own views of the law; censuring and removing magistrates who pronounced sentences he disapproved, sending a decision of Mr. Herschel's to every official as a model after which all other suits were to be determined, liberating prisoners whose cases presented nothing to mitigate the punishment the tribunals awarded. Though these are charges of a grave character, they are substantially correct, and supported in part by irrefragable evidence which he himself furnishes. An instance is recorded in the Blue Book, of his giving his own opinion of the law in opposition to the enlightened views of Mr. Grote, the commissioner of Nuddea, and in favour of the erratic procedure of Mr. Eden. 'The Lieutenant Governor assumes that Mr. Eden's principle, as above stated, is beyond all question the true exposition of the law, as it stands, and he cannot agree with Mr. Grote in thinking Mr. Eden's order inconsistent with that principle.' * In his letter of the 18th of September, speaking of the proclamation in which he had told the cultivators who had contracted to grow indigo for several years, that they would be free from their engagements at the close of the current season, he says: 'In order then to place the matter before this class of ryots in its true light, a local Notification for the Nuddes Division might be issued calling the attention of those ryots who are under valid unexpired engagements from which they cannot or do not release themselves by proceedings under Regulations V. of 1830, to the fact of their obligations remaining in full force.' Had he only glanced at the Act, or been acquainted with the simple rudiments of law, he could never have used such extraordinary language. The Act affords protection to ryots, who, having fulfilled their engagements and declining to enter into new ones, apply to the court for a settlement of their accounts with the planter; but it distinctly states, that the ryot cannot claim a settlement of his account till the expiration of the period of his contract, and that while any portion of the time of the contract has yet to run the judge has no jurisdiction in the matter. To speak then of valid and unexpired engagements from which ryots do not release themselves is to misinterpret the Act, and use words which the people are sure to understand as a suggestion to set the law at defiance. This is a strange way of correcting the serious blunder which called forth the reprimand.

* Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 196, para. 9.

mand of the Governor General. Thus by opinions, proclamations, and orders contrary to the letter and spirit of the law, Mr. Grant has done much, indeed almost every thing, unintentionally no doubt, to mislead and impoverish the peasantry, jeopardize an important branch of commerce, drive European capital from the country, and evoke, in every district of his Government, the demon of anarchy. 1,396.

The experience of the Lieutenant Governor has been confined to the metropolis. He possesses only a very slight knowledge of the vernacular, has never resided in an indigo-district, and is profoundly ignorant of the interior of the country, but when the executive authorities point out in a courteous manner the errors into which he falls, he answers arrogantly, and forgets he is speaking to gentlemen; and if the 'strangers,' as he politely designates European Settlers, remonstrate against his procedure he becomes wroth, and pines minute on minute till the learned ~~man~~ threatens to rise to the height of the tower of Babel, and with much of the confusion and perversity which prevailed at the erection of that wonderful edifice. Ignorance in a private individual calls for pity, but in a ruler of forty millions of people, who receives princely emoluments for the discharge of his duties, it must be contemplated as a crime. He had however, he tells the world, a peculiar opportunity in the year 1835 for making himself acquainted with indigo-planting.

Lord Bentinck seeing the importance of Europeans to develop the resources of India, and conduct works of enterprise, wished to afford them every encouragement and facility to settle in the country, and invest capital in agriculture, trade and commerce. Desirous of obtaining correct intelligence, he caused letters of inquiry to be addressed to all European and Native gentlemen who were likely to possess the information which he sought. The answers to these letters confirmed his own opinion that, notwithstanding the partial evils which might now and then attend indigo-cultivation, the planters had done more than any other body of men to advance the material prosperity of India. He gave these papers to the world, and strongly recommended the Court of Directors to adopt towards British Settlers a liberal policy. Unable to resist his arguments, and perhaps awed by his character, the Court gave a cold assent to his measures; but no sooner had he left these shores than steps were taken to reestablish the ancient policy of antagonism to European residents. The Local Government was instructed to request all judges, collectors, and magistrates to give their opinion again respecting indigo-planters. They did so, and their letters are supposed to have been more than unfriendly, but they were not

published to afford those who were attacked an opportunity of defending themselves. They were kept secret, and committed to Mr. Grant to form the materials of a dispatch to be addressed to the Home Authorities. A man with a nice sense of honour would have recoiled from such an undertaking, but he has the effrontery to boast of it.

We have no desire to depreciate the service to which Mr. Grant belongs, but wish it well. It is adorned by many persons possessed of great minds and eminent virtues, who for talent, labour, and integrity, have probably never been surpassed, and who will be mentioned to the latest day of our rule as an honour to the English name; still we counsel its members not to wage war against European residents; for the result of the conflict may be foreseen without the gift of prophecy. In Canada and the Cape of Good Hope such a struggle ended in the humiliation of officials, and the creation of parliaments in which emigrants are duly represented; and in what are now called the United States, it terminated in the loss to the Crown of one of its largest dependencies. The unthinking may deem the army sufficiently strong to prevent such a catastrophe, but reflecting persons will see in our military force elements of danger, troops united to British Settlers by nationality and consanguinity, and be apprehensive that the ties of blood, and the feelings of sympathy may break the bonds of allegiance and discipline, and lead them to fight on the side of their countrymen. The wise and virtuous, who take an interest in the welfare of India, would deplore such a collision, and scarcely expect the statesman to survive whose policy provoked it.

Having thus dwelt on the policy of the Bengal Government, a policy which, when made known to the world, all statesmen will emphatically condemn, we shall notice the evils that really attend the planting enterprise, all these, we think, might have been removed without for years injuring the richest province of the empire; but before entering on this portion of the subject it will be necessary to mention the systems of cultivating and manufacturing indigo which prevail in different parts of the country.

In the North Western Provinces the planters purchase the fecula of the indigo in a wet state, and it must have such a consistency that five seers can be lifted with one hand.* It is obtained by contract with zemindars, or ryots at rates which are

* C. R. Lindsay Esq., Collector of Furruckabad, says, the required consistency is 2½ seers, or about 6 lbs., Commissioners Report, Appendix No. 26 p. 123; but J. O. B. Saunders Esq., till very recently an indigo planter, states it be 5 seers, Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 182.

regulated by the price which is current when the stipulation is formed, and the whole or part of the payment is made in advance. It is likewise purchased in the open market from persons who grow and manufacture it on their own account, or from dealers who buy it from others and sell it again for profit. The price is from ten to twelve rupees per maund. In the North West Provinces Europeans also manufacture the dye from the plant, but appear not to have done so before the year 1827, when what they had hitherto made was greatly depreciated in value by a largely increased production of a finer quality of indigo in Tirhoot and lower Bengal, which led them to change their system, to erect vats, and manufacture the dye themselves. To be secure against loss the contract for the plant is generally made with a merchant, trader, or zemindar, and the rate paid, which varies with the market, is about 22 rupees per 100 maund, the weight of which is 96 lbs.; if the agreement be made with the ryot himself, the price is two rupees less, and he is sometimes required to bring as surety the zemindar or headman of the village where he resides. It is stipulated to pay half the money in advance; however the ryot does not receive it all at once, but at separate stages of the work, one quarter after the first irrigation, and the remaining portion after the first weeding. The bigha is supposed to yield the cultivator a profit of about one rupee, it is occasionally more, but sometimes gives him no remuneration for his labour.

In Tirhoot indigo is cultivated on plantations owned by Europeans and worked by hired labourers; and also by small farmers who grow it on their own land for the factory at a stipulated price. After signing the contract, an advance is made to them of two rupees per bigha, the measurement of which is equal to three Bengal bighas; an additional rupee is paid at sowing time, and another when the field is weeded. The remuneration per bigha for an abundant or average crop is six rupees, eight annas, and for land which happens to yield no return three rupees are given as an allowance for rent and labour. The land is occupied by indigo the whole year, and no other crops are grown with it.

In Lower Bengal indigo is cultivated on farms similar to those in Tirhoot, and likewise by the peasantry who grow it by contract on lands which they hold from the planter or some other proprietor. These different systems are designated *nij*, own cultivation, and *ryotte*, cultivation carried on by ryots. Summing up the cultivation of thirty factories, as recorded in the Report of the Commissioners, we find it to amount to 4,65,482 bighas, of which 3,66,016 are ryotte, and 99,466 *nij*, which gives the

latter a proportion to the former of a little more than a fourth. The period of the contracts into which the ryots enter is one, three, five or ten years. The advances are made at two rupees a bigha, and the rate paid for the plant, which varies at different places, is 4, 6 or 8 bundles for the rupee. On the occurrence of a bad season and a complete failure of the crop, no compensation is made to the ryot for the loss which he has sustained in the shape of rent and labour; the sum he has received in advance is entered in the books against him, to be liquidated in after years; but a part of such debts is sometimes remitted. On certain lands cereal and oil-seed crops are grown with indigo.

An opinion prevails, even among persons otherwise well informed, that indigo is obnoxious in all parts of the empire, but nothing can be more erroneous. It is produced in Rungpore, where lacs of bundles have been sold in the market at the average price of four for the rupee. It is grown and manufactured by the Madras peasantry without advances, and the out-turn of the whole presidency in 1859-60, was 2,531,726 lbs. In the North West Provinces, the Punjab, Sind and Bombay, it has been cultivated and manufactured on a large scale from time immemorial, and its production can be indefinitely extended.

What is the character of planters in the North West Provinces we learn from the letters of Commissioners, Collectors and Magistrates, who, on being requested to communicate their opinions, wrote in the following terms of our enterprising countrymen. Mr. Phillips, the collector of Agra, states, 'that the cultivation of the indigo plant is popular, and that the system pursued has never been productive of affrays or trouble to the judicial or executive authorities of his district.*' Mr. Thornhill, Deputy Collector of Etah, says, 'The cultivation of indigo is decidedly popular, and the cultivators take contracts with eagerness, and he is unaware of a single instance in which indigo cultivation has led to affrays.†' Mr. Chase, officiating Collector of Mynpoory, 'represents the cultivation of indigo as highly popular, both with the zemindars and the ryots, and as being unattended either with breaches of the peace or with trouble or annoyance, either to the European planters themselves, or to the judicial or executive authorities of the district.‡' The Collector of Benares states 'that the planters are all honourable and upright men, and gain the esteem and respect of the surrounding agricultural community: they are a blessing to the district; and a great assistance to the magistrate. There have been no violent affrays or

* Indigo Commissioners' Report, Appendix No. 26, p. 121.

† Ditto ditto ditto No. 26, p. 121.

‡ Ditto ditto ditto No. 26, p. 121.

'disturbances within the last ten years about indigo cultivation, and the criminal suits instituted, are almost invariably connected with the disputed possession of fields.* Mr. F. Gubbins, the Commissioner of Allahabad, says, 'The planters are almost invariably a blessing to the surrounding country. I have known this division eleven years, and have never heard of any oppression on the part of the planters, whom I have on the contrary, always found to be firm supporters of the law, and ever ready to assist in looking after the peace of the district, and in caring for the roads and public thoroughfares in their neighbourhood.†

The complaints which have been made against indigo are confined to Bengal. As reasons for the tranquillity of the Upper Provinces and the present disturbed condition of the Lower, it has been stated that the cultivators of Hindostan are superior in honesty and straight-forwardness to those of Bengal; besides here the jurisdiction of magistrates is more extensive, which has rendered the enforcement of the law by the executive authorities impossible, the planters have been necessitated, in order to defend their property, to administer a rough kind of justice themselves, or accept the alternative of being reduced to beggary. Doubtless much injury has arisen from these causes; but there are other evils that cannot be thus accounted for, which deeply affect the condition of the labouring poor, and therefore cannot be a subject of indifference to any man possessed of comprehensive views and generous emotions. Such a person will be prepared to give the peasantry a hearing, to examine their grievances, and point out the way to redress them.

It is alleged that ploughs, carts, oxen, and labourers are pressed for the cultivation of factory-lands and that if wages be given, which, it is said, is not always the case, they are generally much below the market rate; that implements of husbandry belonging to recusants are abducted to prevent them attending to other crops, and for trivial faults or offences which have not been committed they are subjected to heavy fines, and their goods distrained to realize them; that fields of hay and thatching grass, and trees for fuel and building are cut down, and taken away without payment, or for such trifling remuneration as amounts to not one tenth of the value of the property carried off; crops of rice and other grain are destroyed, and the land sown with indigo by force; ryots are seized, flogged, tortured and imprisoned, and if intimation of this treatment be conveyed to the executive autho-

* Indigo Commissioners' Report, Appendix No. 26, p. 11-920.

† Ditto ditto ditto No. 26, p. 118.

rities, to elude the police they are hurried from factory to factory, where they are kept in durance till their spirits bend, or they can bribe the guards to allow them to escape. That half a century ago such things may not have been infrequent, and that some of them now and then happen in the present day, cannot be denied. It may be said, and probably with much truth, that when they do occur, they are done in almost every instance by the factory servants and without the knowledge of their master; but however well established this statement may be, it does not lessen the sufferings of the victims, or palliate the cruel injustice to which they are subjected: the owner of an estate must to a great extent be considered morally responsible for what is transacted upon it, and those who are oppressed naturally attribute their wrongs to him; though he may not be the immediate author of them. When such things however really do happen, what is the legitimate inference to be drawn from them? Not only that an individual planter or his servant is proved to be worthy of condign punishment, but that the rich can grind the faces of the poor, and the strong oppress the weak with impunity; that the police, and the tribunals are inefficient, and, as far as the protection of person and property is concerned, there is no Government whatever.

The cultivators complain that they have no voice in the selection of the fields appropriated to indigo, and that instead of a fair proportion of different kinds of land being taken, all excepting the best is rejected, and the worst being thus left for grain and other produce, the harvest on them is less abundant than it otherwise would be. But when the quantity of land appropriated to the plant is compared with the area devoted to other productions, it will be found to be exceedingly small, so that the above objection can affect the interests of the farmers only very slightly: still, wherever it exists it should be removed, and perfect freedom be secured to them in fixing on fields for this or any other crop.

They likewise affirm that the factory measurement always exceeds the quantity of land they stipulated to sow. The planters admit that the indigo bigha is generally larger than the zemindari and government standard, but as the cultivators are perfectly aware of the fact they say fraud is not committed or even intended. Believing this to be correct, and we have not the remotest idea of imputing to them a desire to overreach the peasantry, we yet cannot but think it very advisable to assimilate the indigo acre to the measure which is adopted in the same district or county for lands devoted to other crops. Though conformable to long established usage, it cannot appear otherwise than exceedingly

anomalous, that a field of certain known dimensions, which is sown with rice this season, should measure less next year when taken for indigo. As the planter pays for the produce by the bundle, and not according to the space over which the seed is scattered, to perpetuate this singular custom can yield him no advantage, and as it is one of the reasons assigned by the farmers for their opposition to indigo, to continue it can only excite further irritation, and prevent an amicable settlement of present differences.

The fraudulent computation of the produce forms another grievance. At the time of cutting the farmers bind the indigo in bundles, and with carts or boats convey it to the factory, where with a chain which is six feet long two or three bundles are measured, and by these the quantity of the rest is conjectured. If the stalks of the plant be made to protrude at each end of the bundle, and the chain placed over the soft or leafy part in the centre, it is possible to press into one bundle what ought to make two, and this it is alleged is often done if the factory servants be not bribed. Those who have the happiness to be ignorant of the tortuosity and fertile resources of Hindu and Mahommedan minds will perhaps think these gains are made with the cognizance of the planter, and carried to his credit; but it is highly probable the utmost precaution is used to prevent him obtaining the least knowledge of the fraud. The native agent, who superintends the measurement, has persons among the cultivators who, with the hope of being well treated themselves and receiving a small pecuniary present, readily consent to aid him in the accomplishment of his designs. These allow more indigo to be entered in their names than they have actually brought, with the understanding that the price of it is afterwards to be paid to him, and thus by a circuitous route the proceeds of iniquity travel to his own coffers. It appears to be sometimes the case that instead of counting the bundles in a load, and estimating them by the average bulk of three or four, no measurement is taken, or any enumeration made, but the indigo is thrown into the vat as soon as it arrives at the factory, and the quantity determined by the will of the agent, who is prepared to write in the ledger more than it really is, if paid, and less, if the douceur be not offered. Cannot arrangements be made to prevent this kind of knavery? At the time of cutting the plant persons selected by the farmers in conjunction with the planter's agent might make a rough estimate on the field of the produce of each cultivator, then accompany the carts or boats to the factory, and there see it weighed. As in measuring with the chain much depends on the strength of the man who compresses the bundle, it can seldom

be a fair estimate of the produce, and is likely to give birth to the suspicion of fraud even when there is not the least intention of practising it; this method of computing the indigo crop should be instantly abandoned.

The system of advances is of native origin, and existed ages before Englishmen visited India. Just as it has been in force from time immemorial, it prevails with little or no modification now in every kind of business. It is adopted by the Government in conducting the commissariat, the department of public works, and the monopolies of opium and salt. Merchants, miners, traders, and manufacturers are required to conform to this ancient custom, and even householders who need a carpenter, mason or other artizan to execute a few repairs, are asked to pay a portion of the remuneration before the work is touched. If then farmers object to this system of indigenous growth, which Hindoos and Mahomedans of every class use their utmost endeavours to keep in vogue, it cannot be to the system itself, but to the manner of its operation, and the consequences which it entails. The results of which it is productive are of a grave and painful character, and if due attention be not paid to them indigo must eventually be abandoned, and the millions invested in it diverted to other climes. This would certainly be a great calamity, for every intelligent Englishman who is acquainted with inland counties, cannot fail to perceive how they languish for the want of capital to develop their resources, and European wisdom and energy to originate and conduct works of enterprise. Then divesting ourselves of all feeling arising from difference of race, and with minds unclouded by prejudice, let us endeavour to behold the evils of which complaint is made in the light in which they appear to the poor man who feels their pressure, and in which they would appear to us were we in his place. It is stated that a large portion of the money paid into the hands of the farmer by the planter himself is absorbed by factory servants; the amount thus purloined is reckoned by different persons to be half, a third, or a fourth, and though it is impossible to ascertain the exact sum it is probable it is seldom less than an eighth or a twelfth. Menials in private establishments, mercantile and governmental officers extort similar gratuities which are surrendered to escape annoyance, trouble and vengeance which it is apprehended would be inflicted in case of non-compliance. But the custom, however noxious and widely spread, was created, and continues to be fostered by the abject spirit of the people, consequently the remedy is in their own hands. Let them with a calm firmness that have hitherto not exhibited refuse to be victimized, and at once point out to the

planter or magistrate the villains who try to wring from them the proceeds of their toil, and in a few months extortions which have been practised for centuries, will every where cease. But it is declared to be almost impossible for a farmer to leave home to go to a distant court to lodge a complaint, because in all probability he would be waylaid, beaten, brought back and ruined. In nearly every Concern the native agents as a matter of course exercise some authority. If the planter be not thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular their power is great; and where there is a frequent change of managers he is for a time entirely in their hands, wholly dependent on them for information about the accounts and the character of the respective cultivators; and this influence is employed to crush persons who resist their tyranny, and to frighten the rest into submission. Hence it happens that a vast amount of evil is perpetrated which never comes to light, the sufferers deeming it expedient to observe a profound silence. We are aware of this deplorable state of things, and yet still recommend a bold and decisive step to be taken, for to persons who refuse to adopt a manly course of action by bringing their grievances to the notice of the executive authorities, the kindest masters, the best human laws, and the most competent administrator can be of no service, and the only prospect open to them is to bear what oppressors may please to inflict, till death terminate their misery.

Some amendment is imperatively called for in drawing up indigo-bonds. A contract is a mutual bargain made without force or fraud for a legal object, and necessarily supposes the stipulating parties are free to deliberate before assenting; and when signed, neither reason, morality, nor law permit abridgment addition, or change. If one of the parties be rich his wealth gives him no power over the document, and if intrusted to his care it is not so much from a consideration of his social position as from the belief that he possesses the honour which usually accompanies it, and would not for any pecuniary advantage, however great, commit forgery, the basest of crimes. No change can be effected except with the consent of the respective persons who affixed their names, which would be equivalent to cancelling the agreement. If this be a right view of such legal instruments, inducing the peasantry to sign blank papers which may afterwards, as circumstances dictate, be filled up without their cognizance, is a practice which must be emphatically condemned. We do not mean to assert that it is adopted to swindle the poor out of their earnings, or that the document, on which any thing may be written as coming from themselves, is held up as a rod of iron, to be used, should they prove restive, to bend them to the

will of their oppressors. We are prepared to give due consideration to the reason assigned for its adoption. It is pleaded as an apology for this proceeding, that sufficient time cannot be commanded, owing to the reluctance of the cultivators to give it for an object which they regard as a mere matter of form, and as on a large plantation several thousands come to take advances on the same day, it is found to be impossible to get them to wait till the bonds are properly made out. Here a question arises, what is such an instrument worth, and to what purpose can it be devoted? Into a court of law it cannot be taken, for every judge, except he were ignorant or corrupt, would pronounce it invalid. In the hands of the honest planter, and rectitude is a general characteristic of our countrymen, it can be of no use whatever; forging the requisite legalities, and supporting them by the necessary amount of perjury is a thought that would never enter his mind, and from which he would recoil with loathing and detestation. The impulsive, headstrong and reckless may have no proneness to deeds which betoken a spirit of reptile-meanness, but the cold, hard, and sordid, who can plough up fields of grain, kidnap recusant ryots, confine them in dark holes, beat and starve them into submission, which things have sometimes been done, can give no moral guarantee of his incapability of filling up a blank bond, and turning it to his pecuniary profit. To hope he will be moved from villany by the ruin, sorrow and anguish it creates around him, is to expect grapes from thorns, figs from thistles, and tenderness from stones; for he who wages war against the poor and helpless, lays aside the attributes of humanity for those of the fiend. Why then go through the farce of signing blank papers of which ninety-nine planters out of a hundred possess too much honour to avail themselves; and which can benefit only the bad man that may, as in other communities, now and then come among them? In our city-marts, manufacturing towns, and agricultural districts at home such instruments have never made their appearance, and would be contemned as altogether foreign to the British character. The early European settlers in India found them in vogue, and floating with the stream drifted into the native practice. But now the procedure of planters is scanned by those who watch for their halting; and except they intend to furnish arms for their enemies to poll them with, this reprehensible system should be immediately relinquished. The difficulties of altering the system may be great but are not insurmountable. Large firms in Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds, while the works are going on as usual, pay the wages of several thousand hands in the course of an hour or two; and, provided the body of the contract

were previously written out or printed, which might be easily done, and there required to be entered only the position and quantity of the land to be sown, the price to be given for the produce, and the signatures of the contracting parties, and witnesses, a planter, with his European assistants, working hard from morning till night, might get through the labour in a day. If the area of the Concern be very large, and the distance to the chief factory a long journey to many of the farmers, it might be divided into several portions, and the business be done in each. In this manner all the contracts might be finished in three days or a week. To remove the objections which have been raised in courts of law owing to such documents being attested only by servants, who were not believed to be exactly free agents in the matter, two respectable men of the village in which the cultivator resides should, on his part, witness and affix their signatures to the bond, and the planter have the same number of witnesses; and two copies be made of it, the original to remain with the factory records, and the duplicate with the farmer. This would be conducting the affair in a business-like way, every thing would be as clear as noonday, no misunderstanding could afterwards arise, and consequently no suspicion of oppression or fraud. To diminish the period occupied in drawing up bonds, it has been suggested that a respectable man of each village or division of a district might make arrangements with the cultivators, and then taking the whole responsibility on himself contract with the planter. Something of the kind is done in the opium department at Gya and Patna, and in the North West Provinces in indigo. As far as the expediting of business is concerned it has much to recommend it, but the creating of middlemen, who have been injurious to the interests of every country in which they have existed, and who in the course of time would, in all probability, become as fraudulent as the present race of factory servants, is a grave objection to it. Whatever removes the planter and cultivator to a greater distance from each other opens a wide door for the entrance of every thing which is to be deprecated. It is only when they transact business without the intervention of a third party that it is likely to be unaccompanied with injustice, and prove mutually advantageous.

Having pointed out the manner in which contracts should be made, it may be well to inquire if legal protection be needful to secure their fulfilment. Generally speaking, class legislation is inimical to the spirit of justice, inimical to the prosperity of the community, and destructive to liberty, and is therefore to be deprecated; but sometimes it is called for by imperative necessity, and conducive to the good of the realm. A real statesman will

acquaint himself not only with the abstract principles of law, but with the characteristics of those portions of the community among whom they are to be brought into operation, and will frame measures which combine theoretical knowledge and practical wisdom. For example, on the restoration of peace after intestine war, he would make a distinction between those sections of the nation who to a man stood by the Government in the hour of peril, and those who fought against it; and if he deemed it expedient to disarm those who had been passively or actively hostile to the state, he would never subject to the same ignominy, those who had devoted their influence and lives to its service. These he would regard as a tower of strength, and be rather desirous of giving them such an organization as would render their services still more valuable in future emergencies. But charlatan legislators, for the maintenance of a political formula, which, they but imperfectly understand, would treat the loyal and rebellious alike, and thus, unintentionally, do their best to estrange the friends of order, bring back anarchy, and set the country in a blaze. Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Charles Jackson, and Sir Mordaunt Wells, by their opposition to the Arms Bill, have placed themselves among the wise legislators of the age, and all who are capable of comprehending the exigencies of our Indian empire, will offer them the tribute of respect mingled with gratitude.

Whether the circumstances in which the planter is placed be peculiar and require special laws to meet them is a question worthy of calm consideration.

If the non-fulfilment of the contract arise from circumstances over which the farmer has no control, such as the failure of the crop owing to the want or excess of rain, he should be held in no way responsible for it. Having sown the quantity of land for which he stipulated, and delivered the crop, whether plentiful or otherwise, which it produced, he has virtually fulfilled his agreement, and should the out-turn not cover the advances it must be remembered that he has expended more than double their amount in rent, ploughing, harrowing, weeding, and reaping. In a bad season indigo is a great loss to the ryot, and it is not too much to expect that in Bengal as in Behar, the other contracting party should bear some portion of the risk. Considering the small profit realized in a favorable year, for the planter to debit the cultivator with the whole of the loss is to make misfortune a reason for the perpetration of injustice. If he transport his indigo to the Calcutta or London mart the carriers will not be responsible for accidents caused by the elements, and to avoid the loss to be apprehended

from them he must take the precaution to insure his property. Where then is the justice of making the ryot pay, because Providence sends unpropitious weather? The scanty crop, in the rearing of which he has sustained a pecuniary loss, he delivers to the planter, and one would think equity could demand no more from him; but he is actually fined for the effects of flood and drought, and if unable himself to make compensation for ravages committed by the elements, the burden falls on his children. This brings the farmers under the yoke of an interminable servitude, and rouses their angry feelings. Some of them are now liquidating the debts of their grandfathers, others are greatly augmenting them, and losing all hope of gaining their freedom; and, if the system continue, the next generation will waste its energies in vain attempts to repay advances made to the present. What little prospect there is of the accounts ever being settled may be seen from the evidence given before the commission. As all factories have large out-standing balances, the following statements relating to one concern will enable the reader to form a pretty correct idea of the rest. It appears that the balances owing by the ryots to the Bengal Indigo Company, have been from thirty or forty years in accumulating, and now amount to £77,800; £31,600, it is stated, are in the course of being paid off, but the remaining £46,200 are not immediately recoverable. Indeed there is a suspicion abroad that the planters do not wish these debts to be entirely liquidated, as they are said to give them great power over their tenants: by a sudden demand for payment, and the threat of lodging them in jail if it be not made, they manage it is affirmed, year after year to force reluctant farmers to cultivate indigo. We are not prepared to say out-standing balances have never been turned to such account, but we think such use is now seldom made of them. The planters as a body, would no doubt rejoice if these debts were immediately paid. In many instances they would constitute ample fortunes, and enable proprietors to return to Europe in affluence, who, if things proceed as at present, may soon be reduced to beggary. Whoever is acquainted with the Natives in the way of business, is painfully cognizant of their readiness to receive advances, and of their reluctance to repay them, either in the shape of cash, labour or produce. Knowing these stubborn facts, while we do not discredit every statement, we are disposed to make large deductions from reports which are circulated to the disadvantage of British Settlers.

The great hindrance to an amicable adjustment of present differences will be these out-standing balances. Most of them are lawful debts which the cultivators have contracted, and con-

stitute a portion of the property of indigo concerns for which each successive proprietor has been charged when he made the purchase; consequently the courts can use their authority only to enforce payment, or inflict punishment for its not being tendered; and this instead of improving matters would in most cases ruin both parties. The only way to remove the impediment is for the planter to make concessions like those suggested by J. Forlong Esq. On the ryot agreeing to sow indigo for five years and completing his engagement, to remit the old balances, and to prevent similar debts being incurred, to give him, in the event of a failure of the crop, a reasonable allowance for rent and labour.

Under the present law the planter has no effectual remedy either against the fraudulent practices of the cultivator, or those of the ill-disposed and unscrupulous zemindar. Even with a decree in his favour he seldom obtains redress, for it is found to be almost impossible to execute it. If circumstances be favourable it is probable that the first trial of the case may be finished in two or three months. This however may turn out to be only one stage in the business; the defendant has the privilege of appeal of which he will perhaps avail himself, and if there happen to be many cases on the file, several months may elapse before the suit be called for, and when brought on, it may be remanded to be tried anew, which will cause further loss of time. At the termination of the new trial a special appeal is admissible, and as the object of the defaulting ryot is not to obtain a reversal of the judgment, of which he may not have the least hope, but to cause delay, and prevent the decree being executed, it is highly probable that this appeal will be made. When the higher has confirmed the sentence of the lower tribunal, and ordered it to be carried into force, a notification of the sale of the property, consisting of huts, cattle, crops on the field, and grain in store, is issued; then numerous claimants come forward, and prove by well connected documentary evidence that nearly every thing was mortgaged to them long before the suit of the planter was instituted. It is true that Regulation 11, of 1806 was framed to prevent such alienation, but it requires, and properly too, proof of intention to alienate before attachment can be made, and as it is very difficult and often impossible, as all who are acquainted with the country know, to procure proof of such intention, this act seldom affords the planter redress. If he be not already weary of the uncertainty of the law he may try to get the self-improvised creditor imprisoned, and, to mend matters, thus throw away more money by paying for his maintenance while in jail.

A judge of the chief Court of Appeal says. 'The planter is obliged to make large advances, and has no security but the good faith of the ryot, who is at the beck and nod of his zemindar or mahajun. He has a large interest at stake, and can never recover the loss incurred by failure of the ryot to meet his engagement. I may here instance the powerful influence a zemindar has over his ryots. When I took charge, as Magistrate of Nuddea, the Raja of Berhampore had a quarrel with Messrs. Hills and White, and forbade the ryots to cultivate indigo, and not a man for miles round certain factories would take advances. I proceeded to the spot, examined many of the ryots, they had nothing to complain of, acknowledged that they had received liberal advances, but said they would not cultivate indigo any more, though they had done so for years. Nor were Messrs. Hills and White able to make advances until they had taken the Mehal in Putnee, and paid a handsome salamee to the Raja. If the influence of the zemindar be sufficient to prevent the ryots taking advances, very little exertion of that influence is, I apprehend, sufficient to make them break their contracts, and it is from the effects of this baneful influence that planters ought to be protected, for they cannot, under any circumstances, obtain redress against the real party who causes their loss.' *

Losses arising from similar fraud are sustained in all other branches of business. The fellers of timber in the Morung, Chittagong, and Burmah are in the habit of receiving advances, and of selling the wood to third parties. Large advances are also made to dealers in cocoons, and it not unfrequently happens that instead of taking them to the manufacturer with whom they had contracted they dispose of them at the market price to another person, and thus by two sales of the same article obtain double its value. In the grain, oil-seed, sugar, hemp, and cotton trades, the same dishonesty is constantly practised. The sufferer by the fraud might prosecute the rogues in the civil courts, but as such prosecution is expensive, exceedingly dilatory, and the obtaining of justice quite uncertain, he seldom thinks it worth his while to appeal to those tribunals.

As the old law was found to afford no practical remedy for the loss and inconvenience which manufacturers, tradesmen, and others sustained in the Presidency Towns from fraudulent breaches of contract by artificers, workmen, and labourers who had received advances, the penal Act XIII of 1859, was framed to meet the emergency. As in the interior of the country the same evils are experienced in every branch of business a similar

* G. L. Esq. Blue Book, on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, pp. 63-4.

law ought to be enacted to check them, and small Cause Courts established for its summary administration by European judges; but to be effectual and afford proper security to both capital and labour it must be made to reach not only fraudulent contractors, but all persons who are found guilty of seducing them by bribery or intimidation to break their engagements.* Every individual purposing to avail himself of the law, it is urged, should be under the necessity of sending his contracts to be entered in the records of the court, within ten or twenty days after their execution, and no prosecution be allowed on bonds presented when the period for their registration had elapsed. By a strict observance of these provisions it is thought contracts would be drawn up on the day they were dated, and not written, as is now sometimes the case, just before the suit is instituted, and with the base design of bringing the defendant to ruin. At first sight this appears plausible, but will hardly bear examination. In the event of a trial being instituted, all that the due administration of the law requires is, that the judge should be furnished with irrefragable proof of the bond being genuine, and this is secured by its being made in duplicate, and a copy remaining with each of the parties, signed by their respective witnesses. The most vigilant guardians of such documents are the individuals personally interested in them, and who would sustain pecuniary loss should they be tampered with. In every part of the civilized world this consideration is deemed sufficiently powerful to make each contractor watchful lest he be overreached, and to detect and punish forgery should it be practised. It is however contended that this is not enough to protect the rural population of India, yet the ryots are not intellectually inferior to the peasantry of other lands. They know the relative value of the rupee, anna, gunda and cowrie, and likewise the difference between a week and a day, a year and a month; they marry, exercise parental authority, and perform all the duties of life; they enter courts of law as witnesses both in civil and criminal cases, and decisions of the greatest importance are founded on their testimony; they are pronounced capable of paying proper regard to their own interest in growing and disposing of every kind of produce excepting one; it is only when indigo is in question that the Government considers them children, and thinks it advisable to make them register their engagements. To give permission to register bonds and afford security for doing so would be proper, but to render it compulsory would

* Since the above was written, a law has been enacted which constitutes breach of contract a criminal offence.

defeat the ends of justice. It is highly probable that in the rural districts not three per cent of the people can read, and the number able to peruse a contract, so as thoroughly to understand it, is considerably less. In such a state of things, the best guardians of the labouring poor are the respectable men of the village in which they reside, whom they are accustomed to consult in all matters of importance, and of whose counsel they can avail themselves without the expenditure of money or time; but the advice and aid, which, as neighbours, they are ever prepared to give at home, they would decline to travel to the record office and tender there, so that were the registration of bonds made compulsory, there would necessarily arise a class of scriveners, composed for the most part of persons who attend the present courts, in whom generally speaking little confidence can be placed, who falsify documents they are paid to write if the douceur from the opposite party be large, purloin papers from the file and place in their stead others of a different character, and can be bribed to perform any amount of forgery and perjury that may be required. Did the truth of these statements need confirmation, we might refer to the portrait J. Forlong Esq. has drawn of an individual pleader, which is a graphic likeness of the majority of the class. That gentleman says: 'I may give you a specimen of their character from what one of the leading mooktyars of the place said to me two or three years ago. I met the man accidentally, and inquired how he was getting on, he replied, "Very well, but that he was getting too old to carry on the business of certain wealthy zemindars any longer." I said to him, that I thought they were by far his best clients; he confessed they were, but he was too near the "Ganges" or death, to go on with the business. He then acknowledged that it was the rule of the country and the custom, for a mooktyar to tell a witness all he had to say, but added, "I am obliged also to get all the witnesses, and, worst of all, forge all the documents, and this I cannot go on doing." This was stated to me without the slightest concealment or sense of shame, and as calmly as if the man were talking about the state of the weather. I consider this to be not only a true illustration of the morals of mooktyars practising in the courts, but also, a sure indication of what is daily and hourly going on in every court in Bengal.*

The consequence of throwing the industrious poor into such ruinous hands can readily be imagined; but suppose honest scriveners could be obtained, the magnitude of the business would present a serious impediment to its being speedily and properly

* Judge Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, taken at Kishnaghur, p. 46.

done, for in one county probably as many as 50,000 contracts would have to be written at the same season of the year. In 1835, this important subject was submitted to the Law Commissioners, when Lord Macaulay wrote an able minute upon it, in which he says, 'A great number of registrars would be necessary to conduct the examination into all these agreements. And the registrar intrusted with the conduct of such an examination must be no common man. He must be not only a man of sense, but what in this country it is hard to find, a man of independence and integrity, a man who will dare to stand up for a poor native against a rich Englishman. It would be hard to find such functionaries in sufficient numbers. It would be absolutely necessary to pay them well; and after all it may well be doubted whether the advantages which the labourers would derive from such a system of guardianship would compensate for the journey, the attendance, the trouble, and the loss of time.'

'The general rule which is followed all over the world is this, that no judicial verification of a contract shall take place, till it is alleged that the contract has been broken. At present it is probable that not one contract in a thousand is in any country on the earth the subject of a law suit. If the immense majority of contracts were not performed without legal investigation and decision, the world could not go on for a day.*'

It is stated the cultivation of indigo is not remunerative, and, except when the plant is grown with cereal or oil-seed crops, it is generally admitted that the profit is small, but reference is sometimes made to the collateral advantages afforded the peasantry, as being a compensation for the little gain realized in favourable years, and for the loss sustained in bad seasons. These advantages are the granting of loans without interest; the circulation of capital in the districts where factories are situated; the payment of household expenses, domestic servants, overseers, clerks, ploughmen, labourers, carters, and boatmen; protection from oppression inflicted by the police, zemindars, and survey-meens; acting as arbitrators in the settlement of family quarrels, assaults, village-feuds, claims of creditors, boundary questions, and things of a similar nature; rendering great pecuniary aid in making walls, reservoirs, water-courses, roads and bridges; and the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, and schools. But such incidental blessings account for the steps of Englishmen wherever they settle, and ought not to be considered a justifiable reason for underrating the value of the

* Indigo-Commissioner's Report, Appendix No. 14, pp. 82-3.

labour. They are the fruits of civilization, and can no more be sold in the market than rain and sunshine. It is better to regard these collateral advantages as inseparably connected with our sojourn in India, and strive to augment them a thousand fold.

Previous to the insurrection an increase had been made on many plantations in the wages of day-labourers, and also in the hire of ploughs, carts and boats; and though the remuneration for indigo had a long time been stationary, there was reason to believe it could not have continued so, and that the farmers would have obtained the real worth of the plant without the interposition of the executive authorities of Government. Had the contending parties been left to settle between themselves the value of this commodity, as they do that of every other, and the magistrate used his power only to punish breaches of the peace, and secure to all persons perfect freedom in the exercise of their legal rights, there can be no doubt that the planter, if he found it to be necessary, would have offered the highest price he could afford to pay, and the ryot swayed by a regard to his pecuniary interests would have accepted the rate, if it appeared to him likely to be advantageous. Thus a great change would have been quietly effected in this important branch of agriculture and commerce. Had it happened that they could not come to terms, it would have proved that indigo could not compete with other products, and the millions invested in it would gradually have found their way to climes more favourable to the cultivation of the plant. Non-interference with capital and labour is a law dictated by the soundest policy, strictly observed by British statesmen, and departure from it has ever produced, what is now witnessed in Bengal, results of the most disastrous character. Had it not been for Mr. Grant's uncalled for interposition, the planters and peasantry would have arrived at an amicable arrangement, but the difficulties of making it he has increased a hundred fold. He has excited a spirit of contempt for the rights of property and the sanctions of law such as had never appeared in the provinces over which he presides, since they came under our rule, and had he possessed only a portion of the talent of an ordinary administrator, their tranquillity, uninterrupted more than a century, would not have been disturbed. In the North West Provinces and the Punjab it will be found necessary to increase the remuneration for the indigo plant, for the price paid there is not higher than what is given here, but Mr. Edmonstone, and Sir Robert Montgomery, who have ruled those portions of the empire with wisdom, will leave the parties concerned to effect the change

themselves, and not by insane meddling ruin both capitalist and labourers.

During the last three years rice and other grain have sold at prices unusually high, consequently their cultivation has been much more lucrative than formerly; this has rendered an increased rate of remuneration for growing indigo absolutely necessary, and unless it be given, no new arrangements that may be made can be of a permanent character. By comparing the profits of ten years' indigo cultivation with those of rice for the same period, it might be ascertained what is needed to make the annual average gain of the former equal to that of the latter. As the augmentation required would not be the same in every district, and would be determined by a variety of circumstances, no sum can be mentioned that would be suitable in all cases. The wisest course is to leave the parties concerned to settle the matter, without the interference of the state. They are fully alive to their own interests, and quite capable of forming a sound judgment respecting them. There need be no apprehension of indigo having to be abandoned because the profits realized from it are too small to afford the ryot a higher remuneration for the plant. Speaking of the expense of producing it, and of the market-price* of the dye, W. Moran Esq. says, 'In Tirhoot, for the last three years, the seasons have been moderately favourable, whereas in Bengal, it has been the reverse. In these years, I should say that the average of cost in Tirhoot, exclusive of interest and Calcutta agency charges, was about 110 rupees a maund, and in Bengal for the same period from 140 to 150Rs. But in an ordinary run of years, I should think that they would make the indigo in both divisions, at about the same cash cost. With the exception of a few Bengal Concerns, celebrated for fine quality, there are now scarcely more than ten or fifteen rupees difference between the Bengal and Tirhoot indigo, in favor of the former, Tirhoot indigo having of late improved in quality very much. The average selling price of Bengal and Tirhoot indigo has been for the last three years, say for Bengal 210, and Tirhoot 195 to 200.*'

We feel persuaded, that the planting enterprise will contribute to the material prosperity of the country, and indirectly to its spiritual welfare, and therefore wish to see it conducted on a larger scale. Instead of regarding it as opposed to religion, we class it, when rightly pursued, among other legitimate branches of trade, which are not only sanctioned by Christians, but by all

* Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, taken in Calcutta, July 24, 1860, para. 28.

flourished most under its shadow. The gospel and commerce have gone hand in hand eighteen hundred years, and cannot now separate as enemies. At present, however, we are not sanguine about the fortunes of the planters, but fear many of them will be ruined, and that at home the religious and political world will vie with each other in loading them with contumely, for the accounts which have been published will doubtless make a deep impression, and kindle in the bosoms of the humane burning indignation; but when sophistry, error, and malignity have exhausted their strength, the voice of truth will gain a hearing and turn the tide of opinion; for the English, though liable to mighty prejudices, are honest to the core, and when once they begin to reason their characteristic love of fair play will resume its influence, and the effusion of their wrath will descend on the heads of the real culprits.

Before concluding this paper we beg to observe, that among the boons European Settlers require, none can be more important than permission to purchase land in fee simple, unclogged with conditions, and a representative government. In other dependencies of the Crown land has been thus disposed of, and after a struggle more or less protracted emigrants have entered the national council. Love of freedom, self-respect, prudence, and indomitable energy gained the battle, and the same qualities will achieve the victory in India. After these changes have taken place there will still remain an evil of great magnitude, the gross ignorance of the people, which impedes nearly every branch of business, seriously affects the administration of justice, and in 1857 proved sufficiently powerful to jeopardize the British Raj. Sound knowledge, both secular and religious, must be given if we wish to raise the natives, and accomplish the grand purpose for which providence committed India to our charge. This is a work not for the clergy alone, but in which laymen of every section of the Church have to take a part, and here, as is generally the case, interest and duty are united. The gospel brings in its train all earthly benefits; in every country where it has been propagated it has nourished liberty, trade, commerce, science, literature, and the arts; so that irrespective of the happiness of an immortal life which it communicates, it sheds on all who come within the range of its influence a plenitude of temporal blessings. When educated and christianized the rural population of India will be a noble race, and rank among the finest peasantry in the world. Such we believe the ryots will one day be. In feeling this assurance we do not dream, but cherish a hope encouraged by Heaven. The time will come, and may be nearer than external appearances would lead us to suppose,

when the mummeries and villanies of a superstition, which has ruled its votaries with a rod of iron for thousands of years, will cease to be acted, heathen shrines be forgotten, filthy songs, chanted in honour of filthy gods, be effaced from the memory of the people, and the church-bell be heard in every village, calling men to tread the courts of the Lord and hallow the sabbath.



- ART. III.—*Modern Painters*. Vol. V. By John Ruskin, M. A., London: Smith, Elder & Co.
2. *Homer and the Homeric Age*. 3 Vols. By W. E. Gladstone, M. P. London: J. H. & J. Parker.
3. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*. 4 Vols. By James Anthony Froude. London: J. W. Parker.
4. *History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great*. Vols. I. & II. By Thomas Carlyle. London: Chapman & Hall.

A T first glance it will seem as though it were absolutely impossible that the writers, whose names head this article, should have any thing in common. And it will be as well if we at once confess, that we have no hope either of forging any new links between the subjects of which they have treated, or of propounding any novel theory of the universe, which may embrace them all. But the most cursory reader of their recent works must have been struck by one peculiarity, which he cannot deny to any of them. However interesting the book, however numerous and beautiful the new views of things which it may have disclosed to him, however great the pleasure he has derived from its perusal, yet, in the majority of cases, he closes it with convictions diametrically opposed to those which the author had hoped to produce in his mind, or at best, he rises with heavy doubts upon the very point which it was the main object of the work to establish conclusively. The banks of the river were perfect, but it has ended in a quicksand, or, worse, in space *pur et simple*. For instance, there is no work on art, Modern or Ancient, at all comparable with the five volumes to which Ruskin has affixed the title of *Modern Painters*. They present a somewhat formidable appearance, but are in point of fact, entirely free from any technicalities that may not be understood by the merest tyro. They are full of original and subtle criticism not only on pictures, but on poetry also; nor can any body read them without acquiring both facts and principles, whereby he may be enabled to turn what critical power he may be gifted with, to better account than the supercilious detection of spots in the sun, which is the common criterion of taste. Above all, they open a man's eyes to what may be called the laws of external form—the laws which regulate the variety of shapes and colours taken by clouds, rocks, trees, 'the earth and every common sight.' These laws, again, are given in no dry scientific definitions, but are derived, traced and illustrated, not from pictures only, but from our own everyday experience. And lastly, Ruskin's language, though at times undoubtedly marred by an absence of self-restraint, and then defaced by an extra-

vagance verging upon rant, yet is at once copious, perspicuous, and distinguished by an eloquence all its own.

Such and so agreeable is the road—beautified and diversified in every imaginable way by the genius of its designer. Yet it is only the road; and what is the goal towards which its maker conceives it to be but the means of conducting those who may be tempted to tread it? There are few to whom it would not be a mortification to know, that most people look on them as being only *accidentally* of any use in the world; that if they were successful in their intentions they would be a nuisance, or do positive harm, but that, thanks to the fact that their intentions are of far too chimerical a nature ever to be realized, or to obtain any dangerous number of partizans, their exertions and struggles towards those intentions can be looked at *per se*, and may be thus indirectly beneficial or not, as the case may be. Our deep sense of the obligations owed by the world generally to Ruskin, has already been expressed, and the fruit of his lessons is to be seen in the great pictures that have been produced in England during the last ten years. Yet we should be inclined to retract what we have said in praise of the work, were it possible to conceive the world generally abandoning its common sense and adopting the faith, which, after all, it is Ruskin's main object to preach in it. This creed contains two clauses. "I believe in Turner—I abjure all England else," is perhaps the shortest mode of conveying it. No painter was ever equal to Turner: but alas! he was an Englishman of the nineteenth century, not a Venetian of the fourteenth. And great as he was, he could but paint, thwarted and dwarfed by the degraded tone of thought, feeling and taste, prevalent in English society. Hence his shortcomings as an artist—hence his penurious habits—hence his lonely and miserable life. The failure and unhappiness of so great a man does but point the moral with treble force, that, if we do not at once change our whole mode and manner of life, if we do not dismiss men-servants from an employ so degrading to the *male* sex, if we do not forthwith pull our old houses down and erect gothic edifices in their room,* if we do

* This was the original proposition. It appears to have struck our author afterwards that it was rather too expensive to be practical. For (if we remember right) it is argued in the Edinburgh Lectures—"If we cannot do this, we can do something—we can build gothic porches to our doorways." Ruskin could never defend an architectural incongruity like this on *Aesthetic* grounds. But by a most gross misapplication of a Scriptural text, he reminds his hearers that they will be thus affording shelter to the poor. Even self-complacency has its limits: and we have never yet met a man who would feel the glow of charity upon him, on the ground, that, when stepping in to his dinner, he had left a beggar provided with a roof in his porch.

not spend our money on their outsides, instead of selfishly making ourselves comfortable in their interior; above all, if we do not utterly and from our hearts abjure the blasphemous science of political economy, and in its stead adopt and act upon such views as were lately promulgated in certain papers, which saw strange light in the *Cornhill Magazine*, we may no longer hope that any good thing will come forth from England. Turner himself saw and felt this. 'The age had bound him too 'in its beaumbing round.' And he gave clear expression to the bitterness of his feelings, in what to common eyes is a very beautiful landscape—The garden of the Hesperides—but which really is a grand yet melancholy allegory—The Assumption of the Dragon, in lieu of the Virgin—deciphered by Ruskin, and the key to which he now bestows on the nation. Perhaps the riddle did not present much difficulty to the man, of whose fancy it is the pure invention.

We have no liking for quotations, yet, lest we should be accused of exaggerating or distorting our author's views, we are compelled to take a few from the volume of the work published during the last year. All acquainted with other works of his, will at once be aware that these might be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

'So far as in it lay, this century has caused every one of its great men, whose hearts were kindest and whose spirits most perceptive of the work of God, to die without hope—Scott, Keats, Byron, Shelley, Turner. Great England of the Ironheart now, not of the Lionheart; for these souls of her children, an account may perhaps be one day required of her.'

All his failure and error, deep and strange, came of his faithlessness—faithlessness or despair—the despair which has been shown to be characteristic of this present century, most sorrowfully manifested in its greatest men, but existing in an infinitely more fatal form in the lower and general mind.' Part IX. Chapter 12, p. 4.

Or again. 'I had no conception of the absolute darkness which has covered the national mind in this respect' (the relation of God to man,) 'until I came into collision with persons engaged in the study of economical or political questions.' Vol. V. page 348.

'The greatest man of our England in the first half of the 19th century, in the strength and hope of his youth, perceives this to be the thing he has to tell us of utmost moment, connected with the Spiritual World. * * * Here in England is our great spiritual fact for ever interpreted to us, the Assumption of the Dragon. No St. George any more to be heard of! This child, born on St. George's day, can only make mani-

'fest the Dragon, not slay him. The fairy English queen once thought to command the waves, but it is the Sea-dragon that commands her valleys. Of old, the Angel of the sea ministered to them, but now the Serpent of the sea.' Part IX. Chapter 10, H. 25.

So far, we have only quoted passages of prophetic denunciation; the following, though not a whit more absurd, may be more certain of provoking a smile. He is speaking of the clouds, but cannot resist the chance of an allusion to his theory.

'But when the storm is more violent they are tossed into fragments, and magnificent revolving wheels of vapour are formed, broken, and tossed into the air, even as the grass is tossed in the hay field from the toothed wheels of the mowing machine, (perhaps, *in common with all other inventions of the kind*, likely to bring more evil upon men than ever the Medusa-cloud did, and turn them more effectually into stone.)' Vol. V. page 147.

We are not among those who consider that Ruskin has set Turner on a pinnacle one inch too high above other landscape painters: we sympathize with his indignation in finding, in the catalogue of the Royal Academy for 1859, *Calcott* and *Claude* described as Turner's equals. We have already given a very inadequate expression to our admiration of the book in its parts. But what it is our present object to draw attention to, is the strangeness of the purpose to which our author desires those parts to be subservient. The above is a correct statement of the whole drift of the work, and it militates so strongly against common sense, that it is almost a waste of words to encounter it. Ruskin labours, and as no other man could labour: but he seems to leave to others the privilege of reaping the fruit of his labours. The conclusion which most people would draw from a perusal of the book, is that great works *have* been painted and produced during this much abused century. We have already hinted, that the appeal to any picture painted by Turner, is not in the slightest degree justified by fact. Ruskin's interpretation both of that fable of the Hesperides, and of some others, is as far fetched as any in Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients*; with this difference, that Bacon's are professedly fanciful. He never ascribed to primitive ages the pregnant subtleties of his own brain: whereas Ruskin can write concerning the fables of the *Medusa*, *Pegaseus*, *Danaë* and the *Danaïds*: 'Few of us have thought, in watching its career across our mossy hills, or listening to the murmur of the springs, that the chief masters of the human imagination owed, and confessed that they owed, the force of their noblest thoughts, not to the flowers of the valley nor the majesty of the hill, but to the flying cloud.' (Vol. V. part VII

Chapter 4.) We would add that any appeal to Turner's life in the same cause is a wrong, both to the men and to the country which he adorned. He lived through and past obloquy into wealth; and that wealth was a substantial proof that there *was* appreciation of his powers. He found fit audience though few. Ruskin has been rather the popularizer and analyzer than the discoverer of his genius. And he died fulfilling the darling object of his life, presenting his country with a noble heirloom in a gallery of his own works, and bequeathing a sum larger than the Clive Fund to the foundation of a like institution for English Artists. Whether he was personally happy or not, is a question with which we have nothing to do. Even Ruskin will hardly find English Society guilty of determining those points in a man's temper, which go to the making up of private happiness. All we would insist upon is, that the contemplation of his course leads ordinary people to a conclusion, again precisely opposed to that drawn from it by Ruskin. For assuredly in his case, this vile soul-benumbing nineteenth century *did* afford its opportunities for a great painter to lead a noble life; nor was anything found in it to prevent those opportunities being pushed and used to the utmost.

But there are other sinners in the same direction and on the same scale, and amongst them we must include even Gladstone. That it has been a labour of love to him to compose his three volumes on Homer, and that he has spared no pains to render them as exhaustive as possible, is evident to anybody who may read the work. The first contains a treatise on the ethnology of the races to whom, and of whose ancestors Homer sang. This we would rather treat of in connexion with the third, which contains, in the first place, an admirably drawn contrast between Greece and Troy as exhibited in the *Iliad*, and, in the second place, (what we must consider as the most valuable portion of the work,) a criticism on Homer as a poet, and on the use made of him by succeeding generations of poets. The second volume is entitled, the Religion of the Homeric age, and in it is included by far the subtlest analysis of Greek Divinities, as exhibited by Homer, that has yet appeared. For Gladstone shows, on the one hand, more discriminative power than Colonel Mure, and, on the other, more imagination—we mean more power of truly appreciating the poet's view,—than Grote. But here our sympathy must end. The analysis is admirable: but what is the aim of the analyzer? He has analyzed Homeric Mythology, believing that he thereby proves, that in it are to be found clear traces of two great revealed traditions;—the tradition of a Trinity, and the tradition of a Redeemer.

Now we may follow even the stream of direct revelation, and yet find no trace of any such definite doctrine as the former, until we arrive at the early Christian Church. We confess, if we may be allowed to adopt a similar misapplication of modern terms, that we had always looked upon the Jewish people, from the patriarchs downwards, as sincere *Unitarians*, and had imagined that their retention of that faith through so many centuries of idolatrous paganism, had been at once the distinctive mark and the divine privilege of that nation only upon earth. Gladstone is somewhat vague as to the source from which the tradition is derived. But he appears to have a strictly literal belief in the early chapters of Genesis; and if there is any meaning at all in what he implies, the belief in the Trinity ~~must~~ have been so strong before the dispersion of the world at Babel, it must have owned such vitality, as to colour and model a false and corrupt mythology centuries after. We hope we are not taking Sydney Smith's name in vain, yet we cannot help thinking that he would have exulted and revelled over such a proposition. Conceive Enoch and his cotemporaries being able to repeat anything similar to the doctrinal portion of the Athanasian Creed! or Noah having doubts in his youth on the divinity of the Third Person! It runs counter to all our ideas to imagine the giants orthodox members of the Church. Events are said to recur in cycles: and it is possible that the Arian controversy was but the repetition of that original of all religious feuds—the split between the children of Cain and the children of Seth. We ~~trust~~ that irreverence will not be imputed to us on such a subject. What we desire, is to bring in as palpable a form as possible before our readers, the gross anachronism into which Gladstone has been betrayed, at once by his ingenuity and his enthusiasm in support of a religious theory. Yet it would not be one whit less absurd to charge Job, the first Arab known to us, with a leaning towards Mahomedanism, than to argue that a formula, which is a deduction, and, we devoutly believe, a true deduction from the Gospel, was held as an article of faith in the Antediluvian era. And surely it is more natural to suppose, that the supremacy of the trio, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, was but the exaltation of the powers that ruled over the three unknown, and, to early ages, awful regions, the Heavens, the Sea, and the Future World, above the Deities of the common Earth, than to suppose with Gladstone that it was the relic of a distant doctrine; even granting (which we do not) that the doctrine of the Trinity had ever been fully disclosed, and never lost, among the ordained preservers of revelation.

Indeed, the second tradition of which Gladstone seeks and finds the traces, *was* kept alive among the Jews by frequent and divine iteration. Yet none the less is it the merest exercise of fancy, to explore the realms of Heathen mythology for proofs of its vitality among other nations. All that Gladstone really discovers is, that the early Greeks were not deficient in the religious instinct, which led men in all parts of the world to believe that their gods can save them in time of trouble. This is hardly entitled to the name of a discovery. But what he attempts to prove is, that the functions of an universal mediator and redeemer are to be found distributed amongst three Homeric Deities, Apollo, Minerva and Diana, and that though the conception of these functions had been corrupted, yet, such as it remained, it may be clearly traced up to the primitive revelation of that Divine Plan by which man was to be saved. But we all know that even the Jews did not understand the true purport of the prophecies addressed to them. The height of their expectation was a heavenly deliverance of their own tribes. Here, then, we are brought to the same stop which met us in our consideration of the first proposition. For in point of fact, that Divine Plan, so far from having sunk into the heart of the world before Babel, remained a sealed book even to the Jews, until it was given to St. Paul to open it, and to expound the riddle of ~~past~~ prophecy in full.

One inconsistency may be worth pointing out. Gladstone conclusively proves that the three Deities in whom he supposes that the conception of a Redeemer, however degraded and corrupted in its transmission, is embodied, occupy an anomalous position in the mythology. They have special privileges, an independence of action, and a purity of sentiment not attributed to other Gods. The distinction is a remarkable one, and it is drawn out with great refinement of thought. It is stated also as tending to establish the truth of his opinion, regarding the idea of which they are the representatives. But assuredly no such distinctive qualities can be claimed for Jupiter, or even for Neptune or Pluto. If representatives of the Tradition of the Trinity can find their natural place in a Heathen mythology, the importation of extraneous elements is not of great force as an argument, to prove that there is a similar representation of another tradition derived from the same source.

We fear that we are occupying too much space with a subject of little general interest; and we therefore pass over many other considerations suggested to us by this volume. Far more unqualified praise is due to the chapters, which treat of the morality of

that primitive age, Yet even in these a certain *obliquity of purpose* is again perceptible. For instance many pages are devoted to proving that the damsels of the period did not personally assist at the ablutions of chance visitors to their fathers or husbands. The question is supposed to hinge on a point of Greek grammar—the exact meaning of the three voices. It has never been denied that they contributed some service, nor is even Gladstone disinclined to admit that, for example, they filled the tub. He would rather quote such custom as evidence of the genuine hospitality then prevalent. But he is naturally indignant that an imputation should be thrown on the moral purity of his favourite century by mere grammarians. We think that he beats the air with perfect success and carries his point against all comers. But the disquisition was, we venture to hold, supererogatory. Most people consider that we have changed for the better since the time of Nausicaa, yet none but a German, frantic for grammar, would hold that so marvellous a revolution had taken place in the sentiments of fathers and husbands, as would be implied in the supposition, so successfully combated.

We stated above that it would be more convenient to review the first volume in connection with the third. In fact, we believe that a thorough refutation of the views propounded in the former is by implication contained in the latter. Gladstone refers the origin of the Greeks to the fusion of two tribes, the Hellenes who, he supposes, came from Persia, and the Pelasgians whom he brings from Egypt. Now, the East was without doubt the cradle of all Aryan or Indo-germanic nations. But it is not in this undeniable sense that Gladstone would stamp an Eastern origin upon the Greeks. One main result of his argument, is to assign their immigration into the Archipelago and Europe to a date far more recent, than could possibly be assigned to the dim and distant movements of the primitive fathers of many nations. We will not burden our pages with a disquisition on a subject interesting to the philologist only. But Gladstone has himself furnished us with a conclusive reply. Never has the poetry of Homer been more thoroughly appreciated, never has his power of delineating character been set in so strong and clear a light, never has the ordinary life, social and political, of that early age been so subtly defined or so fully expounded, as by our author in his third *Volymen*. And therefore it is that we wonder all the more, that the eloquent critic, who feels so keenly the peculiar excellencies of the Greeks, should also be the philologist who would refer their progenitors to a directly oriental source. For not only are those excellences essentially

of an European character, but they are also, and perhaps by consequence, the exact antithesis of the forms taken by all Eastern systems of civilization. Enough has already been written on the subject of their religion; but it may be interesting to set in brief contrast the different views taken by the two races on three other points, hardly less telling as tests,—Politics, Art, and the Treatment of women.

On the first we cannot do better than quote Gladstone himself. The passages selected are also characteristic specimens of his style.

‘But that which is beyond every thing distinctive, not of Greece only but of Homeric Greece, is that along with an outline of sovereignty and public institutions highly patriarchal, we find the full, constant, and effective use of two great instruments of Government, since and still so extensively in abeyance among mankind, viz, publicity and persuasion.’

‘Amid undeveloped ideas, rude methods, imperfect organization, and liability to the frequent intrusion of the strong hand, there lies in them the essence of a popular principle of Government, which cannot plead on its behalf any other precedent so ancient and so venerable.’ Vol. III. p. 7.

Again. ‘The speeches which Homer has put into the mouths of his leading orators should be tolerably fair representatives of the best performances of the time. Nor is it possible, that in any age there should be in a few the capacity of making such speeches, without a capacity in many for receiving, feeling and comprehending them. Poets of modern times have composed great works in ages that stopped their ears against them. *Paradise Lost* does not represent the time of Charles II, nor the *Excursion*, the first decades of the present century. The case of the orator is entirely different. His work from its very inception is inextricably mixed up with practice. It is an influence principally received from his audience in vapour, which he pours back upon them in a flood. The sympathy and concurrence of his time is, with his own mind, joint parent of his work. He cannot follow nor frame ideals. His choice is to be what his age will have him, what it requires in order to be moved by him, or else not to be at all. And as when we find the speeches in Homer, we know that there must have been men who could speak them, so from the existence of units who could speak them, we know that there must have been crowds who could feel them.’ Vol. III. p. 107.

We should apologize for the length of this quotation, but apart from our present purpose, it is of considerable interest as containing our greatest living orator’s view of his own art. One more and we have done.

'The king was not the fountain-head of the common life, but only its exponent. The source lay in the community. So deeply imbedded is this sentiment in the mind of the poet, that he could not conceive an assemblage having any kind of common function, without their having, so to speak, a common soul in respect to it. Of this common soul the organ is the "Some body," by no means one of the least remarkable, though he has been one of the least regarded personages of the poem. The Some body of Homer is, I apprehend, what in England we now call Public Opinion.' Vol. III. p. 141.

In these pages the line, which our argument would take can only be indicated; but detail is hardly necessary in so striking a contrast. Were it true, that the emigration of the Greeks from Asia had taken place within any appreciable period, it would be impossible that a picture of their political aims and practice should be so precisely the antithesis to all the desires and tendencies of their oriental kindred. Trace back the history of the East to ages more remote than that of Homer; and you will ever find, in lieu of publicity, the same irresponsible secrecy, in lieu of persuasion, the same imperial disregard of the common herd, which mark Eastern despotisms to this day. Contrast the liberty of remonstrance, repartee, and even, as in the case of Thersites, of coarse invective, allowed to dissentients from Agamemnon—contrast the spirit involved in the very existence of oratory at all—with the timid apologies in which the most venturesome of oriental courtiers occasionally plucked up courage enough to shroud advice. Or imagine a Pharaoh controlled by public opinion! In the West the governors ever considered the will of the governed as the main thing to be studied, if not to be followed: in the East the tendency was ever to invert the relation. Even granting that there was no original difference in race, yet the operation of physical agencies upon man, though sure, is slow. And centuries must have lapsed, before two such full-blown variations on a common ancestry, as the Persian and Egyptian types on the one hand, and the Greek type on the other, could have been brought about by differences in the climate, the soil, and the conformation of their respective countries.

With regard to the second point, it would be easy to expatiate upon the contrast between the poems of Homer himself, and all the early literature of the East. In brief, the object of the former was to set before his hearers lively types of independent and individual character, or rather his object was to give pleasure. But our argument is all the stronger, if it was on account of its being the surest method of giving pleasure to his

audience, and not of his own fancy only, that the poet founded the interest of his story on the marked characteristics of a few individuals. The object of the early Eastern sage was ever to glorify the system into which all individuality should be absorbed; to set forth in striking opposition the insignificance of the human unit, as compared with the grandeur of the whole of which it was its privilege to form a part. And in all we know of their lighter literature, from the Sakoontalá down to the Arabian Nights' Entertainment, no man is ever painted as carving out a path or career for himself. Riches and beauty are his sole desires: and these are granted only by the favour of fortune or the sport of princes. But a less hackneyed illustration may be found in the contrast between the shield of Achilles, and the Art of Egypt. The shield was forged by the God Vulcan for the greatest of heroes, and may fairly be taken as the ideal of the Greek Sculptor in the Homeric age. It was divided into eight compartments, each containing a separate scene in bas-relief. One may be quoted *in extenso*.

On it an orchard next he placed,
Laden with luscious crop of grapes,
On either side a dark blue ditch;
Of tin; a single narrow path
And tender maids & striplings slim
Did in well-woven baskets bear
And in the midst of them a boy
Delightsome, and with tiny voice
The others to the tune beat time

all beautiful and golden,
dark were the clusters on it.
around a fence he carried
led thro' the field to reach it.
with gentle heart of childhood,
the fruit as honey pleasant.
on shrilly lute was harping
replied in dainty ditty.
& hummed & skirled & bounded.*

Another may be looked upon as almost the model of one of those pictures, hung by our great modern Poet upon the walls of the Palace of Art.

One was the reapers at their sultry toil.
In front they bound the sheaves. Behind
Were realms of upland, prodigal in oil,
And hoary to the wind.

In the other compartments were represented a siege, a court of justice, the ploughing of a field, the attack of a lion on a herd, a dance in a copse. It will be at once evident that even at that early period the aim of the Greek artist was to 'hold the mirror' up to Nature and human life; to reproduce common things, trusting solely to truth, and the mode of composition for pleasing effect.

* *Idylls of the Past*, 1881, 1872. We introduce our readers to the most recent attempt to translate the *Idylls*, that by Mr. Newman. The sole merit of the peculiar rendering which he has chosen is, that it admits of a more literal and complete rendering than is attainable under more difficult conditions. Its faults are obvious. It is as incapable of elevation or dignity as the *Trochæus* of *Hiawatha*.

Now as in literature, so too in art, the aim of the East was entirely opposed to this nature painting tendency.—The eastern artist loved to create forms transcendent above man—to translate such ideas as those of unreachèd repose, of imperturbable calm, of eternal duration, into shapes, colossal and magnificent indeed, but of a set and rigid conventionality. Occasionally, as in Assyria, they even sought the aid of allegory.

Man's head for wisdom and all cunning plans
Of intellectual might; the lion's limbs
Speak massive strength; the wings ubiquity;
The whole, a giant both to will and do.*

Their desire was, in short, not to please, but to overawe the imagination; and to this day what has survived of their work retains its ancient power of doing so. Is it possible that the nation, which in its infancy found delight in such pictures as those engraved on the shield, was, within any appreciable degree of relationship, (for we hold that we are all children of Adam,) connected with the nation which designed the Sphynx?

Turn now to the third point—their social life—best shown in their treatment of women, and the differences between the two will be yet more glaring. Ulysses is supposed to be dead—would be held as deceased even by English law. Yet Penelope is no chattel belonging to her husband's family; neither is she handed over to the eldest surviving brother; nor is her influence limited to such as she might exert within a seraglio. She is regent in open day; and though it is certainly expected that a rich young widow, who holds so important a position in the world, will not abide in widowhood, yet she has free range of choice among the numerous suitors of her own degree. The position of a woman supposed to be a widow was manifestly not an unpleasant one. Or let us take the instance of a woman unmarried and perhaps eighteen years old. Nausicaa not only goes with her maidens into the country unattended, but when there, with a dignity and composure which prove that she was not overstepping the recognized limits of maiden liberty, tenders her father's hospitality to a stranger, whose only introduction is a somewhat rude, though unintentional interruption of her amusements. Even the authoresses of the *Timely Retreat* might find something to envy in this freedom. She then ventures upon batter, and demands 'salvage' of the man whom she pretends she has saved from drowning. The pleasing picture is marred by a single blot, and we have not to look far to find this too reproduced in modern Society. She fears that if she enter the city with Ulysses, censorious tongues will put it about that she is

* Prize Poem, Nineveh. Rugby, 1857.

going to be married to him. 'They will say who is this tall and handsome stranger with Nausicaa? Surely she is going to become his bride. Truly she has picked up some gallant from afar who has strayed from his ship; or some god has come down to wed her. Better it were if she found a husband from abroad, since verily she looks down upon her Phœacian suitors, though they are many and noble.—Thus shall I come to disgrace, and, indeed, I myself should be indignant with any one who would so act.'

It will scarcely be believed that this is only a literal translation of the lines,* in which Homer conveys the sentiments passing through Nausicaa's mind upon the subject. The sequel is that her father rebukes her for a breach of hospitality in not having brought her friend home in her own company. This simple story speaks volumes for the liberty permitted to the unmarried maidens of that period. Of widows we have already spoken. Nor were wives worse off. The farewell of Hector to Andromache, perfect as poetry, is from this point of view valuable also as history. Gladstone truly writes, the 'general tone of the relations of husband and wife in the Homeric poems is thoroughly natural: it is full of dignity and warmth; a sort of noble deference, reciprocally adjusted according to the position of the giver and the receiver, prevails on either side. I will venture to add, it is full also of delicacy.' And again 'It is on the confidence exchanged between them, and the loving liberty of advice and exhortation from the one to the other.' The Greeks moreover were all monogamists, nor was concubinage a recognised institution among them. At any rate it is certain that it was never allowed within the precincts of the family. 'When Laertes purchased Euryclea, we are told that he never attempted to make her his concubine, anticipating the resentment of his wife.' (Vol. II, 498) War was doubtless in this respect woman's greatest enemy: she then became the prey of the strongest.—Briseis the widow of a prince, is thus compelled to share the bed of Achilles: nor is this matter made much better by Gladstone, who defines her position as that of 'bride elect.' But we must separate between the danger and suffering which uniformly dogs the weak in times of violence, most of all too, after the sack of a city, and what belongs to the time of Homer in particular. It is also well worthy of remark that the deity who, after Jupiter, stands first in Homer's estimation, is a goddess, Minerva. Lastly, the respect with which Helen was treated, and the delicate avoidance of all unpleasant topics in her presence, has frequently been noticed, though it has never been traced with a more loving and tender pencil than Gladstone's. Indeed he

* *Odyssey*, VI. 275-285.

takes a view of her character not unlike that taken by some of the enthusiasts of Waterloo Place with respect to their fallen sisters in London.* She is drawn as the prototype of our modern Traviatas. Plucked as brands from the burning, they are treated as though the fire through which they have passed has been beneficial. Their fall has developed interesting traits, which are wanting in the dull common place character of self-supporting virtue. Surely Gladstone has fallen into a somewhat similar error when he winds up a very beautiful analysis of Helen's character, as conceived by Homer, with the following sentence: 'In the whole circle of the classical literature, there is nothing that approaches so nearly to what Christian theology would term a sense of sin, as the humble demeanor and the self-denouncing, self-stabbing language of the Argive Helen.' Vol. III. p. 612. We see then that women in the earliest age of Greece, in every possible position,—whether that of maid, wife, widow, or wife eloped,—enjoyed an amount of consideration, respect and freedom, the parallel to which is only to be found among Teutonic and Christian nations. An appeal to all history, and to our own present experience, is sufficient to point the contrast between such a relation of the sexes as we have just described, and the degradation under which women have ever been depressed even among those oriental nations, furthest advanced as regards other tests of civilization.

We hope that we have both explained our meaning clearly, and made out our case. Gladstone refers the origin of the Greeks directly to the East. It has been shown from their earliest records that, even in their infancy, their aim and practice, with regard to three most characteristic points, were wide as the poles from those then and since obtaining in the East. Further, Gladstone finds elements of revealed tradition, also derived from the East, in Greek mythology. We have given the train of argument which leads us to disagree with him. Yet we confess our great obligations to the work, and have, in fact, drawn our principal arguments against the conclusions urged in it from the armoury supplied by it. Indeed if our arrow were not flogged with feathers from the eagle's wing it would be idle to aim at the eagle. With respect to two of our great living critics, are we not then justified in asserting that the only portion of their books for which we are not thankful, is the purpose for which they were written?

If we turn to living historians we find the same tendency to paradox. Froide's patriotism is known to all. But it has not

* The error of these moon-light Missions, have been constantly exposed in the Saturday Review.

perhaps been so generally noticed that the wittiest, severest and most vigorous article that has appeared for years, was devoted to its confutation in the 'Edinburgh,' for July 1858. Froude has been justly called by no less an authority than Kingsley, 'the greatest living master of English prose.*' He is also a master accomplished in the sophistical art of instilling impressions far stronger than are warranted by facts, even as related by himself, of conveying, by implication and choice of ambiguous language, more than he directly states. Few readers therefore will not be glad that so strong an antidote has been provided for them.

But neither history nor review guide us to any conclusive settlement of the point at issue between them; the character of Henry VIII. The review is simply negative, and Froude in this respect stands upon vantage ground. He has a right to urge against those who refuse to accept his estimate of that monarch, the inconsistency of their own conceptions. He may plead that though it may be difficult to reconcile his view with certain facts, yet that at any rate it is not self-contradictory. A theory is not only more philosophic, but more likely to be true, which only presupposes that a few facts have been misinterpreted or misstated, than one by which two or more ideas of the same person, mutually destructive of each other, are held at one and the same time. And that the latter is a true description of the view commonly held concerning this king and his age cannot well be denied. In it are included, first, the bluff king Hal—the John Bull of that period—a conception perhaps derived from Holbein as much as from history: then the student of belles lettres and friend of Wolsey, the chivalrous rival of Francis I, the knight unequalled in the lists, the hero of the field of Cloth of Gold. Then there is the hard-working man of business. With these must be fused not only the Blue-beard of our infancy, but also the bloodthirsty tyrant, the murderer of Cromwell, of the Countess of Salisbury and of Surrey. Again, room must be found, on the one hand, for the high spirit and patriotic energy, which (in Hallam's words) broke the chain of superstition, and burst asunder the prison gates, and to which the Reformation and Protestant liberty of thought are due; and on the other hand, for a capricious and cruel intolerance which, when the royal writer of an eloquent pamphlet in defence of the Papal supremacy, sent More and Fisher to the scaffold for refusing to sign a test, in which that supremacy was deduced directly from the devil. A less personal, but hardly less difficult, contrast is to be found in oppressive statutes, repudiation of loans,

* In the article on Sir Walter Raleigh. *Miscellanies*, Vol. I.

and bloody vagrancy acts, on the one side, and in a content on the other side, so general, that no wide advantage was taken of the opportunities offered for a national insurrection by a great religious crisis, amongst a people who, if the common view be correct, were labouring under an intolerable tyranny—a tyranny, too, supported in entire absence of its necessary prop and engine, a large standing army. It is clear that the monarch and men, of whom we hold vaguely such irreconcilable ideas, are not really understood by us at all. Froude's solution is sweeping enough, consisting in an entire reversal of the popular conception of Henry. Looking on his whole career, posterity has been led to think that the good that resulted from his reign was wholly independent of his will—the evil was all his own. A man of hot passions; and sudden, violent resentments, he allowed neither Pope, nor wife, nor friend, nor servant to stand in the way of their gratification. It has been stated above that this view appears to us to be tantamount only to a confession of ignorance. Yet we would sooner so confess our ignorance, than adopt the theory which Froude would substitute for it. A more complete metamorphosis cannot well be imagined. Henry is transformed into a cool, wise, farseeing pilot of the reformation; through the storms and sunken rocks which encountered it at its outset. Nothing but the force of his character, ruthlessly cutting away, root and branch, all that might in any way impede, or precipitate its progress, could have tided England over the crisis. A man of natural feeling would have been unequal to the task. The immolation, upon the altar of public duty, of five wives, of two prime ministers, of much of the best blood of his realm, of Protestant friends who are dangerous only because they outrun the national movement, of Catholic friends who are dangerous only because they lag behind it, would have been too heavy a demand upon any man not specially gifted. Accordingly the story of his life proves that Henry was providentially blessed with a physical temperament cold to an almost unexampled degree. Desire, love, and friendship were mere names to him, compared with this sense of royal responsibility. "Driven, indeed, by a *tragic necessity*" (of providing an heir to the crown) he looked on matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment. "He regarded a queen as part of the state furniture existing only to be the mother of his children." His heart (in the vulgar phrase) was in the wrong place. But in this frigidity of feeling lay his strength. For he was thus enabled to bring England

* Vol. III. p. 281.

† Vol. II. p. 508.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 132.

to the haven where she would be: to carry the commonwealth safely through to the goal on which his eyes and the eyes of the nation, were set; as little deterred by the numerous victims with whom his path was, 'inevitably' strewn, as the car of Juggernaut itself. The summary given by Froude of the character of his minister Cromwell is far more applicable to his conception of Cromwell's master. For it need hardly be observed that, if so trenchant a policy, as is therein described, could be carried on during eight most eventful years, without the King's dictation, the theory, which would look upon the king as the ruling spirit of the age, falls to pieces of itself.

'He had taken upon himself a task beyond the ordinary strength of man, and he supported his weakness by a determination which imitated the unbending fixity of a law of nature. He pursued an object, the excellence of which, as his mind saw it, transcended all other considerations, the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry: and those who from any motive, noble or base, pious or impious, crossed his path, he crushed, and passed on over their bodies.' Vol III. p. 225.

A parallel passage to be more directly referred to Henry, is to be found in the reflection on Fisher's Execution. Vol II. p. 373.

'Poor human nature presses blindly forward with the burden which is laid upon it, tossing aside the obstacles in its path with a recklessness, which in calmer hours it would fear to think of.' And again Vol IV. pp. 116-17. 122.

'Justice was the ruling principle of Henry's conduct; but it was justice without mercy.' 'The traitor, though his crime was consecrated by the most devoted sense of duty, was dismissed, without a pang of compunction, to carry his appeal before another tribunal.' 'The nation, grown familiar with executions, ceased to be disturbed at spectacles, which formed, after all, but a small portion of their daily excitements and interests.'

It is not intended to offer more than a few remarks, suggested by the perusal of a history pervaded with this paradox. First, we are asked to exchange our old image of the hasty capricious and impetuous Tudor tyrant for an incarnation of a passionless inexorable Destiny. Such a hero may suit the taste of Carlyle and his last, though not least extravagant, disciple. But we venture to affirm that ordinary readers will not bow down before an idol which presents a few real features of warm flesh and blood. The representation we have given of the new portrait is in no way over-coloured. Apart from our few quotations, a yet more confident appeal might be made to the general impression left upon the mind by dwelling upon it. All that may tell in favour of his personal

character, is carefully brought before us. Yet signs of compunction or grief for the necessary victims are few indeed. It was 'a special act of clemency' when More was doomed to the block instead of the gibbet. More's acceptance of this 'tender mercy' is characteristic. 'God bless all my posterity from such pardons.* No response was made to Cromwell, when he sent 'a more passionate appeal than is often read in those days of haughty endurance.'† The most affecting letter ever penned by woman is that from Anne Boleyn to the king.‡ She was the only woman he ever loved.§ Yet he remarried the day after her execution. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was past 80, the Countess of Salisbury not less advanced in years, when they were led to the scaffold. Our readers have the option of referring numerous acts such as these to a man so thoroughly engrossed in a noble purpose, that he sacrifices to its accomplishment, or to an austere sense of justice, his own feelings, which, by a fortunate providence, are naturally thin and chill; or to a man in whom old affection and natural sentiment are obliterated by immediate resentment. Looking at the question *a priori* and setting the evidence aside for a moment, most people will hold that, of the two latter is the interpretation more consistent with human nature.

There is a radical error in the mode in which the events of this reign are handled by Froude. He does not observe the golden rule, which holds no less in reading the deeds of men of action than the opinions of men of letters. He does not interpret for us, but by himself. He fails to illustrate the course taken by Henry on one occasion by his conduct in any similar conjuncture. There could not well be a graver omission in treating of a reign in which divorces, executions, and changes of ministry repeat themselves within such narrow intervals. It is true that a chain is no stronger than its weakest part. One link being broken, the remainder is valueless. But accumulative evidence is not fairly described as a chain. It should rather be compared to a number of separate lines converging on a common centre. They must be looked at together, or the force of their tendency is misread. But Froude on the contrary behaves much like a skilful barrister

* Vol. II. p. 278.

† Vol. III. p. 581.

‡ Vol. II. p. 434. and *Henry* Vol. II. p. 105. In the first edition Froude misapprehended this letter as an undeciphered cipher, and appended a note, in which he stated that the words were taken from the manuscript of its authenticity. But he afterwards found that it was a forgery. Probably, the longer he looked at it, the more he was inclined to find it in connection with his theory.

§ According to Froude. Vol. IV. p. 138.

when there is a mass of circumstantial evidence lying against his client. He shows how each fact, taken singly, may carry a different construction from that put upon it by the opposite side. But he does his best to avoid and ignore the concurrent bearing of all the circumstances, taken together. It may be remarked that in this point of view there is some policy shown in the choice of the moment at which the history commences, and in its publication in separate volumes. It would have been difficult to defend the tactics, principles and benevolences of Wolsey's administration, or to reconcile them with the idea of a paternal government. And the case of Anne Boleyn was laid down before the reader, entirely isolated from its parallels. Once indeed, when the cloud is gathering over the fifth marriage, the historian 'involuntarily pauses.'^{*} But it is only for the enunciation of a sentiment. He calls attention to the 'symmetry'[†] which had marked Henry's domestic troubles. Catharine of Arragon, a foreign Catholic, and divorced, is balanced by Anne of Cleves, a foreign Protestant, also divorced. Anne Boleyn, an English Protestant and beheaded, is balanced by Catharine Howard, an English Catholic, also beheaded. The degrees of misery are, as it were, shaded off, on either side, from the central Jane Seymour, who died a Queen on her bed, through the neutral tints of divorce, to the deep shadows of violent death. We do not admire the figure; and plead guilty to having drawn out the metaphor in order to show our dislike to it. But we think that it might, at any rate, have led its author to observe that there was a corresponding 'symmetry' of revolutions and executions. The divorce of the Catholic Queen led to the fall of Wolsey, the Catholic minister, and the deaths of More, Fisher, and many others. The divorce of the Protestant Queen, led to the fall and execution of a yet greater than Wolsey, the Protestant minister, Cromwell, to the rise of Gardiner, and to the deaths of the protestant preachers, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome. The relatives of Anne Boleyn seem to have saved themselves by a participation in her trial and sentence. But, in order to be sure of catching the right man, Henry executed no fewer than four. And Hume not unnaturally attributes the attainder of Norfolk, and the execution of the accomplished Surrey to the frailty of Catharine Howard. It may be that the periods at which it was requisite to 'spur on flagging reformers,' by a persecution of the Catholics, coincided with the periods at which Henry had a personal quarrel with the latter party. It may be that the periods at which it was requisite 'to hold back ardent reformers,' by the strong bits of stake and scaffold, coincided with

^{*} Vol. IV. p. 180.

[†] Vol. IV. p. 141.

the periods at which Henry had discarded his Protestant wives. But there are few, who, dwelling on the 'symmetry' of his career, will not think that the relation between Henry's private life on the one hand, and these religious and political persecutions on the other, more nearly resembled that of occasion and its use, if not of cause and effect, than that of mere coincidence. Froude indeed allows the existence of a single link between his public acts and domestic sorrows, and one only. It was the ardent desire of the nation that an heir to the throne should be born. To this Henry sacrificed his love for Catharine and his devotion to Rome. And it is hinted, though hardly expressed, that his disappointment at the miscarriage of Anne Boleyn in the case of a male child, caused the low beginnings of an estrangement in the breast of the patriotic monarch. Nor even after Edward's birth, was 'one fragile life sufficient for the satisfaction of the people. 'The universal demand for a Duke of York was the sole motive 'that constrained him into re-entering a state, in which every 'experiment was but a new misfortune.' On one of these latter occasions indeed he lost no time about it. 'Anne of Cleves 'being pensioned off, the King married without delay or circumstance, Catharine, the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard.' Indeed the whole history is marred by one great deficiency. Froude possesses imagination, sentiment, love of research, and eloquence in the highest degree. But he lacks, what great English authors rarely lack, humour. Whenever the reader smiles, it is at the author, never with him. An illustration will convey our meaning better than pages of metaphysics. He desires to prove that the divorce of Anne of Cleves, was looked upon as a right and proper act in Europe. In support of this view, he quotes the following accounts of the reception of the tidings by Francis I, and the Emperor Charles V. 'Sir Edward 'Karne made the communication to Francis, 'prefacing his story 'with the usual prelude of the succession, and the anxiety of the 'country that the king should have more children. Even at that 'point Francis started, expecting that something serious was to 'follow. Sir Edward went on to say that the examination of the 'king's marriage was submitted to the clergy. "What" he said "the matrimony made with the queen that now is?" then he 'fetched a great sigh and spake no more till the conclusion, when 'he answered "he could nor would take any other opinion of his "highness, but as his loving brother or friend should do. For the "particular matter his highness' conscience was judge therein." 'The Emperor,' wrote the resident Pate, 'when I declared my 'commission gave me good air—saying that suddenly as I touched 'the pith of the matter, thereupon he steadfastly cast his eye

'upon me a pretty while, and then interrupting me demanded what the causes were of the doubts concerning the marriage with the daughter of Cleves. At the end, he contented himself with expressing his confidence that as the king was wise, he was sure he would do nothing which should not be to the discharge of his conscience and the tranquillity of his realm.' Vol. III. p. 513-14*

Surely the contrary inference is to be drawn from these minute narratives. It would appear that a trial of Henry by his peers would have resulted in a verdict not very dissimilar from that passed by posterity upon this point. Francis, exclaiming 'what the wife that now is' and Charles looking his informant steadily in the face, both alluding with scarcely covert irony to Henry's connubial conscience, are not bad representatives of the feelings roused at the present moment by Froude's elaborate defence of his hero's married life. A very slight modicum of humorous perception would also have saved him from such sentences as these.

• 'It was not that he was loose and careless in act or word. But there was a *business-like* habit of proceeding about him, which penetrated through all his words and actions, and may have made him as a husband, one of the most intolerable that ever vexed and fretted the soul of woman.' Vol. IV. p. 133.

'It would have been well for Henry VIII. if he could have lived in a world in which women could have been dispensed with; so ill, in all his relations with them, he succeeded. With men he could speak the right word, he could do the right thing; with women, he seemed to be under a fatal necessity of mistake.' Vol. I. p. 459.

The best argument in the world could hardly stand against so fatally ridiculous a sentiment as the last.

It is with much diffidence that we hazard a criticism on so beautiful a style. Yet, perhaps, had the author been possessed of more humour, a larger proportion of simple English idiom would be found infused into what is now a perfect model of uniform stateliness, and of earnestness sustained throughout at a noble pitch.

Concerning Froude's general estimate of England under the Tudors, we would only remark, that though it must be conceded that the picture is painted *en couleur de rose*, yet he compels our attention to a fact which his critics often seem to forget. If the Government was unenlightened, the subjects were in a no less dark state. Men living in the days after Adam Smith are hardly able to conceive the days before that greatest of revolutionists. In the Tudor times, feudal and traditionary privileges

still survived; and the people could scarcely have been rendered miserable by the non-fulfilment of wants and hopes, which could hardly even have crossed their dreams. Many laws and customs, which now wear the aspect of intolerable limitations of common liberty, or of proofs of a partial class-legislation, may then have appeared to be only in strict consonance with the natural order of things.

But enough has been written to indicate the grounds on which rests our original assertion, that as in the great critical works of the day, so in this popular history, though there is much to interest, there is little to convince. The world delights in the book, declining only what it was written to enforce. But let us turn now from the neophyte in Hero-worship to the hierophant of the creed. "*And facinus majus ab illo.*"

It has become a mere commonplace to say, that no living thinker has stamped his own genius so indelibly upon the literature of this century as Carlyle. His power of imaginative and humorous sympathy, penetrates so deeply into motives and character, that, whether in history or in biography, he always seems (if we may adopt his own pregnant phrase)* to be fashioning from the heart outwards, not from the skin inwards. And part of the truth contained in the commonplace is, that ever since the publication of his works, it has been the habit of all historians and critics (save those who were then past growing) at any rate to attempt to do the same. It is due to his influence that the brilliant antithetical mode of portraiture is no longer admired, as a sufficient rendering of the life or of generations of men. Such biographies as those which would analyze Bacon's career upon the guiding principle that he was "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"—such descriptions as those which would characterize the Puritan as "made up of two different men"—such pictures as would represent the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm as 'Hell, and himself the most execrable of fiends, a cross between Molech and Puck'—such criticisms as those which would ascribe the merits of a biography to the weaknesses and follies of its author—such interpretations as those which would stigmatize an epoch as 'marked by an abandonment of the attributes of humanity'—or a religion, however false, as 'mere quackery, priestcraft and 'dupery,' are now rated at their real value. They may be accepted as rhetorical figures, but they do not account for any thing at all. They are mere pointed summaries of superficial contrasts. An epigram may be, so to speak, a key to a *panorama*. It is but a slight contribution towards a true picture. The style

* Employed in contrasting Shakspeare with Scott. *Miscellanies* Vol. IV p. 162.

may be said to have perished with its greatest master, Macaulay. And perhaps the change which has passed over the tone of our best history, criticism and biography, could not be illustrated better than by a comparison between that author's sparkling article upon Boswell and Johnson, and Carlyle's essay upon the same men. And the change is solely owing, not to any direct attack, but to the silent example of Carlyle, combined with the growing admiration which his labours in this direction have, of late years, generally commanded. For,

As when a painter poring on a face
Divinely, through all hindrance, finds the man
Behind it, and so paints him that his face,
The shape and colour of a mind and life,
Looks for his children, ever at its best
And fullest—

Even so will noble men and deeds 'speak in the silence,' and haunt the memory of any reader who has taken the trouble to master Carlyle's conception of them.

But there is another aspect of Carlyle's influence upon the world both of writers and readers, which it is difficult to convey in any except vague language, but which is not the less real on that account. What has been termed 'the mystery of the Universe,' impresses his mind with a wonder, awe and reverence, to which it is difficult to find a parallel even among our greatest poets. In simpler, though far less comprehensive language, 'the mystery of the Universe' is the relation of man to circumstance. To many, Carlyle has succeeded in imparting some portion of his own deep feeling upon this subject. Still more strongly does he impress an unshaken belief in the reality, force, and dignity of human character and human life: a faith, in other words, on man's triumph over circumstance, a denial of his slavery to fate. Upon this subject, Buckle and Carlyle take their stand at opposite extremes. Buckle regards man as the mere creature of external influences, as clay plastic to the hands of time and nature. Carlyle holds up the spirit of man as casting the world in what mould it wills. The former represents man, as at best one of many instruments blindly contributing towards results; concordant indeed with the general laws of social order and progress, but of which he is the while himself unconscious. The latter loves to show how great men have determined the course of a nation's history. Carlyle writes in the *Volumes before us*, and in all places: * 'Every original man is worthy of

* For instance in the *Lectures*, page 1, and *passim*. 'For, as I take it, universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked there.'

'notice—nay, in the long run, who and what else is?' Himself deficient in the faculty of generalization, (and in this deficiency lies his main weakness in history,) he not only finds no interest in the development of large principles and wide tendencies, in the record of abstract society, or in the onward march of civilization, but, in passages too numerous to quote, even reviles such imagined discoveries as mere 'delusions, froth and windbags.' Whereas to Buckle it is a matter of congratulation that no individual aberration, no single career, however energetic, is ultimately of more real effect in disturbing the ~~fixed~~ laws of human progress, than a shooting star is of effect in disturbing the ordained revolution of the planet. It would be out of place here to draw out the contrast into finer detail. Nor has room to attempt to reconcile, or to take up any position between the two. Yet the memories of many readers of the *History of Civilization*, may have reverted with no slight gratitude, from the cold logical chain and practical Fatalism, in which Buckle would bind down our views of the Universe, to the deeper poetic instinct and the glowing thought and utterance, with which the *Lectures on Heroes and Hero-worship* were animated.

And the old power is every where present in the history of Frederick the Great. Nevertheless we cannot but regret that it was ever written. In the first place we lament so large an outlay of labour and power upon the objects to which the two volumes already published are mainly devoted. It is said that the popularity of the work in Germany is unexampled. But most English readers must be affected by the chapters which describe the various members of the line of Brandenburg, with a sense of weariness similar to that which may have come over them in a historical portrait gallery at Versailles. Occasionally they were arrested by some touch in some portrait, the evidence of a master's hand. But, altogether, in the whole range of the self inflicted misery involved in regular sight seeing, hardly any penance has been found more tedious and exhausting. In the same way, while heartily acknowledging the skill with which some of the likenesses have been struck off, we do not care enough about the house of the Hohenzöllerns to find interest in a long gallery* of its members. Some of the sketches too are marred by an extreme latitudinarianism of sentiment. One of the best† is that of the first Friedrich Wilhelm, the great Kurfürst. It is a most spirited likeness and strikes the imagination with no common strength. He is to ordinary apprehension guilty of a base desertion of his allies at a critical conjuncture.

* It occupies more than 300 pages of the first volume.

† Book III. Chap. 18.

But a man of such energy is only to be charged with 'advancing 'in circuits—spirally—face now to West now to East, but with 'his own reasonable aim sun-clear to him all the while.* Truly, in these latter dispensations, Force is gradually supplanting Charity in her office of covering sins. We may sympathise fully with the tenets of a 'muscular christianity;' but it is rather more difficult to find comfort in a gospel of muscle only.

Graver exception must be taken to the delineation of the main figure in these volumes, Friedrich Wilhelm, the father of Frederick the Great. It has been hinted above, that the doctrine of Hero worship may be looked upon as a sound outpost against the inroads of fatalism. And therefore it is most deplorable, that its strongest advocates should throw discredit upon the truth contained in it, by a suicidal choice of their heroes. When Friedrich Wilhelm follows Henry VIII. 'Ecce iterum Crispinus' is the natural cry of all, save the most esoteric disciples of the school.

It is indeed to be at once conceded that Carlyle has converted the lay figure, to which Macaulay affixed the label quoted above, into a breathing human being, of intense but inarticulate affections; but also one of rigid views and most narrow sympathies—one to whom every whim was law, and whose whims were either born of a natural caprice, enhanced by long habit of absolute power, or insidiously instilled by enemies, thinly masked as boon companions. Why should we set such a man upon a pedestal at all? It is true, and Carlyle makes the most of the fact, that he was a faithful husband in days when such royal fidelity was rare, in the days of the first Georges, Czar Peter, and Augustus 'the physically strong.' But never did a man more thoroughly

Compound for sins he was inclined to,

By damning those he had no mind to.

It is true that he was thrifty. And thrift may be, as one of our old friends Sauerteig or Smelfungus is made to maintain,† 'at the bottom of all Empires.' But is it thrift or a low and mean avarice when royalty starves its family,‡ and when it entertains its guests at a cost of 900 £. but directs that it be given out that it has been done at a cost of 5,000 £.§ And is much gained by the whitewash, in the literal sense, thrown over this transaction. 'Alas! yes, a kind of lie or fib—white fib or even

* Vol. I. p. 349.

† Vol. I. 422.

‡ Vol. II. 309.

§ Vol. I. 459.

'gray—the pinch of thrift compelling.* This may be a humorous appreciation of the king's motives, but in what sense is it a justification?

Again it may be true that he had the interests of his country at heart. But it must be remarked, that neither the avaricious accumulation of treasure, nor the tyranny† shown in the erection of Berlin and the Stettin fortifications nor the importation of tall soldiers, impress us with the idea of any nobility of sentiment in this direction. His intentions were, without doubt, according to his lights, good; but his lights were of the dimmest description, not such as emanate from the stuff that heroes are made of. Kidnapping tall privates may be described as 'the polishing of a stanza'—‡ the creation of a city upon a marsh, by means of money wrung from unwilling citizens, as the 'annihilation of wreck and rubbish'—§ avarice as thrift; but no obliquity of phrase can invest such courses of action, even for a moment, with the dignity of true patriotism.

Lastly we are told with variety and iteration, which are almost superfluous, that he was 'of intellect, slow but true and deep, with terrible earthquakes and poetic fires lying under it.' Amiable Orson, true to the heart, though terrible when too much put upon! To all this we can only reply, that, as regards his heart, the volumes before us teem with evidence of the orsonism or brutality. But the traces of amiability are faint and rare. Yet 'he had fountains of tears withal hidden in the rocky heart of him, not suspected by every one.'|| And such come to the surface when he hears of the decease of George; when he meets his son at Cüstrin, for the first time after he had sentenced him to death; and, specially, on his own truly pathetic, though in some degree whimsical, deathbed. He had thoroughly alienated the affections of his children, but it would have been strange if they had not forgiven him then. Of his intellect we have already conveyed our opinion. It may be added, that for many years of his life, partly, from a constitutional tendency to hypochondria, partly, it must be suspected, from his habits of constant fuddling, he was a slave and prey to violent fancies. During this period, he was but as a pipe on which men like Seckendorf and Grumkow could play what stop they pleased; or in Carlyle's own language, he was the main figure in an 'en-

* Vol. I. 459.

† Vol. II. 356-58.

‡ Vol. I. 461.

§ Vol. II. 358.

|| Vol. II. 14.

'chanter dance, of a well-intentioned Royal Bear with poetic temperament, piped to by two black artists.* We do not deny that the spectacle is a pitiable one, or that it is presented before us with true tragic power. We complain that a man, in truth so weak, should be held up as admirable for vigour of purpose. There is no more fatal confusion than that, by which the spurious power gained in going *with* the torrent, is identified with the genuine strength displayed in stemming it.†

Above all, we are at issue with Carlyle as regards the effect, which an 'apprenticeship' under such a father, exercised upon the character of the son. He looks upon it as a model of Spartan training, producing Spartan virtues, and as the key to Frederick's future greatness. We should conclude from the evidence he lays before us, that the Crown Prince was naturally warm-hearted and open both in friendship and antipathy; but that the cruel and bigoted discipline to which he was subjected, drove him, first, into rebellion and unconcealed licentiousness, and finally, when he had been taught by his narrow escape from death the futility of resistance, into a profound hypocrisy, and a chilling disregard to the feelings of others. He became hard and callous. At the instance of his sister Wilhelmina, he was released from exile and confinement at Custrin, on the occasion of her wedding. Wilhelmina was warmly attached to him. She is the witty, though sometimes flippant chronicler of their lives, and had been a sharer in all their early torments. Yet he responds to her eager welcome with a coldness which, under all the circumstances, can only be characterized as heartless indifference.‡ He became a hypocrite. This is hardly denied: but hypocrisy in a hero is rebaptized as 'Loyalty to fact';§ or, in another place, as 'the art of wearing among his fellow-creatures a polite cloak of darkness.' ¶ Gradually he became master of it as few men are—a man 'impregnable to the intrusion of human curiosity, able to look cheerily into the eyes of man and talk in a social way, face to face, and yet continue intrinsically invisible to them.' Nor can we detect any 'scorn of mendacity' || in the manner in which he exercised the faculty so developed. On the contrary, in the relations of the two, after these lessons had been learnt, the

* Vol. II. 316.

† Compare Shakespeare's

'Give me that man

'Who is not passion's slave: and I will wear him

'In my heart's heart—yes, in my heart of hearts.'

‡ Vol. II. 360-5.

§ Vol. II. 338.

|| Vol. II. 333.

'histrionic talents' of the son contrasted with the volcanic temperament of the father almost avail to transfer our sympathies from the victim to the tyrant. Apart from these natural fruits, the 'apprenticeship' does not appear to have yielded anything beyond an accurate knowledge of the arts of farming and drilling.

Yet 'depend upon it brother Toby, said Mr. Shandy, learned 'men do not write dialogues upon long noses for nothing.' And though some of the views advanced in the works we have been considering, may appear, when laid before us naked and in legitimate light, to be of hardly more value than some new theory upon nasal protuberance, yet it would be a proof of rash ingratitude to our learned men to conclude thence that the works themselves are equally valueless. We have failed indeed in conveying our opinion, if it is not plain from all that has been written, that admiration is the preponderating feeling with which we regard our authors. Nay, we would go further, and affirm, that no small portion of the power they exercise over us, resides in the bent and bias which we have endeavoured to point out. Men may qualify, modify, deduct and balance, till all spirit evaporates from their writings. Strong one sided statement is ever the most eloquent. To the majority of the world, the speech of the barrister is more stirring than the summary of the judge. Nor do thoughtful readers run any risk from yielding for the time to such immediate impressions. Apart from natural combativeness, *Audi alteram partem* is a motto ever present to most educated men. And the position of a jurymen, dictated to from above by an incarnation of impartial justice and superior knowledge, is not only less dignified and agreeable, but also less likely to do benefit to the intellect, than that of a man seeking to decide for himself between the conflicting arguments of able advocates. Among our many disadvantages, we should not forget that in India, exiles as we are, we have one point in our favour, which may go far to countervail them. It not unfrequently happens that materials out of which we may form opinion, are laid before us *at once and together*, which were laid before the reading public at home *successively*. The tide of fashion is strong and proverbially fickle. Reactions are often as unjust as the original opinions from which they are the rebound. Yet few take the trouble to look back merely for the sake of modifying their opinion. And, therefore, it may well be true, that when two spirited representations taken from opposite points of view follow the one after the other, they only avail to sway the public mind to and fro; when simultaneously exhibited, they assist directly towards a calm estimate.

ART. IV.—1. *Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy. An Essay, in Five Books, Sanskrit and English: with practical suggestions tendered to the Missionary amongst the Hindus.* By James R. Ballantyne, L.L.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Principal of the Government College at Benares. London: James Madden, 1859.

2. *The Religious Aspects of Hindu Philosophy, stated and discussed. A Prize Essay.* By Rev. Joseph Mullens, Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Author of 'Missions in South India,' and 'Results of Missionary labours in India.' London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1860.

THESE are two important volumes, upon a very important, but a very dry, subject. The benevolent Gentleman who suggested the idea worked out in these Essays, was a public benefactor to the people of India, and, what is of far greater importance, he was a lover of the Truth, in its highest, sublimest, and most divine form.

It is a disputed point, whether the discovery of a great principle—a fundamental Truth, or that of a new *method* for discovering the Truth, is the most important in itself and in its results. Newton did the first; Bacon the last. Both the *Principia* and the *Novum Organum* are immortal, and are already acknowledged to be the property, not of a few nations, but of the race of man. But the investigations which they contain extend no further than the relation of man to the different objects of the external world, of which he forms a part. The laws and limits of the relation between spirit and matter, appear insignificant and unimportant, when contrasted with the relations of spirit with spirit, and especially of finite spirits with the Infinite Spirit. The greatest Teacher who ever dressed human thoughts in human words, has asserted that knowledge of the Truth is the means of man's emancipation:—'Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free.' This is not a knowledge acquired by the cumulative processes of the *Organon*; by the demonstrations of the *Principia*; by the dialectics and guesses of the disciple of Pure Reason; or by the rules of verbal processes laid down by Mill and Whateley. It is a knowledge which is felt as well as comprehended; which has as much to do with conscience as with reason; which embraces within its influence both the Intellect and the Emotions; and which bears as much upon the springs of actions, as upon the regulation of cognitions and of judgments.

The Essays mentioned above, treat of Ontology and Gnosiology, or the sciences of being and of knowing. Sciences which are, at once, boundless and limitless. They embrace—if the word embrace can be employed in such a connection—every object, law, and relation, whether comprehensible or incomprehensible. They treat alike of conditioned and unconditioned existences, and of all their relations. They refer to the questions, What does exist? How it came to existence? Under what conditions, relations, or laws; and for what object, it does exist?

This limitless Ontology is handled in these two volumes. The task which the writers have undertaken is to follow the Hindu sages through all their cumulative collections of thoughts and speculations, to trace out and analyze the wisdom and the folly, which the most restless and active souls, inhabiting the vast plains between the Himalaya and the sea, were able to display in explanation and defence of Hindu principles, during twenty or thirty centuries. The writers profess to analyze all those thoughts; to present them faithfully in an English dress; to contrast them with the Ontological system of the Bible; to point out and refute their errors; to shew cause why the Hindus should abandon them, and embrace the more useful, rational, and truthful tenets of the Bible; and to do all this, in the style and manner best adapted to Hindu comprehension and mode of thinking.

This is a task for giants. To write a book on the *Cosmos* is but child's play, to this. The laws and objects of nature will yield up their mysteries and secrets with much greater facility than Hindu speculations. The former have regular laws though often secret and intricate, the latter have none. The gauge of the Inductive Science is utterly inapplicable to the chaos of the 'three systems of philosophy' handled in these Essays.

One of the systems has no God; another has no world; a third has a God and an atomic world co-existing, and running on eternally parallel to one another. One of them has an imaginary world of Illusions, created by Ignorance; another a substantial world, constructed from nine eternal atoms, by the chief of souls; a third has a real world starting up from an eternal unintelligent principle—or rather state of equipoise of three 'qualities,'—for the sake of liberating a certain indefinite, eternal, innumerable 'purusha' from bonds created either by himself or by accident. One of them makes man to consist of a point of meeting between an eternal 'purusha' and a concrete form of nine eternal atoms; another makes out that he was constructed by an unintelligent principle in successive portions—first intellect, then self-consciousness, then five subtle elements, followed by

five gross ones, and so forth; the third persuades man to believe, that if he thinks himself to be a man, he is ignorant; and if he is not ignorant, he knows that he is not a man, but Brahma.

The progressive developments of the human mind, as recorded in history, have not taken place in a continuous and unbroken chain, but in cycles. The stars presented by history, like those seen in the firmament, stand out in groups. Between Pythagoras and Zeno, there was a luminous group; a less bright one between Cicero and Proclus; a misty galaxy between Anselm and Occam; and a modern constellation, of great, but dubious, brilliancy, between Locke and Hegel. Upon opening these Essays, we felt a curiosity to examine the historical positions, and the epochs and order of the Hindu cycles of thinkers and of thought. We were disappointed. What was the historical position of Kapila and Pátanjali; of Gantama and Kanada of Bádaráyan and Jaimani? No materials have been furnished to enable one to form even a guess.

This omission prompts us to a confession, which will certainly seem ungenerous to critics who are prepared 'to profess doggedly the Hindu belief in their (i. e. the Vedas') existence from 'all eternity,' until some certain chronological data can be found of their age. This is our confession. Let the critics disprove it, and we are ready to change sides. We doubt the antiquity and Hindu origin of many of the thoughts examined in these Essays. We think it a proveable point, that village Pandits compose fragments called *Tantras*, up to this day, for which they borrow thoughts from all sources within their reach, dress them up in Puranic Sanscrit, mix them with their own mythology, and transfer their nameless, dateless manuscripts to a class of copyists more ignorant and superstitious than themselves, and pass them among their ignorant disciples as *Puranas*. Even the more enlightened Brahma-Samaj men borrow thoughts—occasionally Biblical thoughts—and dress them up in the Vernaculars, without acknowledgement: Whole series of notions and thoughts which are un-Hindu, might be selected from the writings of Sankara Acharya, Bhaskara, Annam Bhatta, Vishwa Nāth Bhatta, Sankara Misra, Sadānanda, Rām Krishna Tirtha, and almost all the Sanscrit Commentators. Many of these thoughts, we hold, must have been borrowed from visitors, travellers, and residents from other nations, without acknowledgement, and made to pass in Sanscrit as Hindu productions. Vlaq's *Astronomical Tables*, in a Chinese dress, became a *bona fide* Chinese production, though each figure, right or wrong, continued the same. The origin of the Tirvalore Tables is not clear. We shall be very ready to lay aside this doubt regarding a Hindu habit of borrowing thoughts, if the contrary can be proved.

Philosophy is frequently converted into a war of words for want of clear definitions. There is a difficulty about the terminology of the Hindu systems. That difficulty has not been satisfactorily removed in these Essays.

Here is a list of Sanscrit terms which we think ought to have been clearly and fully defined at the outset; and the exact significations attached to them, *in situ*, in the Hindu systems, clearly and prominently brought out, and laid before English readers in a manner easily intelligible, from the English stand-point. *Atma, Purusha, Brahma, Manas, Buddhi, Ahankara, Triguna, Prakriti, Vastu, Gyána, Agyána, Dravya, Chitta, Guna*, and several others. Of Dr. Ballantyne's philological ability to do justice to this subject, no one entertains a doubt. But we fear the learned author has adopted a wrong point of view throughout his investigation—a contentious point of view—which forbids his readers putting much confidence in his guidance. The defects of missionaries; the doubtful conclusions of Sir W. Hamilton; the disputes between Realists and Nominalists; and Dr. Ballantyne's individual opinions regarding Bishop Berkeley's Idealism; all this ought to have nothing whatever to do with the terminology, philosophy, and errors of Hindu sages, when examined from a Biblical point of view. The fragments which have been put together to constitute this Essay must be recast and re-constituted, if the book is to live. We write these remarks with sincere regret, as we hold Dr. Ballantyne in high esteem and respect, as a Sanscrit scholar and philologist of the first order, and wish much we could give him a similar position as a trust-worthy defender of Divine Revelation, a sound Biblical Theologian, and a Christian philosopher. We would willingly give him a *niche* along with the truth-seeking Dr. M'Cosh and Dr. Mansel, Sir W. Hamilton and Immanuel Kant, if his productions permitted us. It should be admitted, however, that Dr. Ballantyne has done more towards fixing Sanscrit terminology, than any Sanscrit scholar with whose writings we are acquainted. His translations from the Sanscrit are the most dryly literal that we have yet seen. But, all his Sanscrit compositions evince scholarship of the highest order. Even in this Essay, the reader has not much to complain of, in respect of faithful terminology; because all the cardinal Sanscrit terms are appended, either parenthetically, or in foot notes, along with their renderings. The same cannot be said, with reference to exact definitions of those terms, in their genuine Hindu acceptations. A few examples might serve to explain this point.

An English reader wishes to know the exact Hindu sense of the terms, 'Manas,' 'Prakriti,' 'Triguna,' rendered into

European terminology. He will naturally turn to consult the writings of such a scholar as Dr. Ballantyne. He is anxious to know whether these terms represent any realities and acknowledged facts in the economy of nature; or are names attached to imaginary fictions. He wishes to know the exact positions and functions which they hold in the universe—if they exist. He turns to the learned author's Essay, and finds that:—

'Manas' is 'a substance,' an 'entity,' an 'organ,' a 'faculty,' an 'instrument,' an 'atomic inlet,' an 'atom.' Its existence is known by 'the not arising of cognitions in the soul simultaneously.' This term Dr. Ballantyne usually renders by the word *mind*. 'Mind' is also occasionally the rendering of 'Chitta,' of 'Mahat' &c.

'Prakriti' is 'Nature,' 'energy,' 'primal energy,' the 'radical energy,' an 'aggregate of the three qualities,' and an 'equipoise of the three qualities.'

'Triguna' signifies 'the three qualities,' the 'three fetters.' The technical sense of 'guna' shall be considered hereafter.

These are the definitions and renderings of the three terms, as far as we can remember, in Dr. Ballantyne's Essay. Could an intelligent reader, unacquainted with Hindu philosophy, and only acquainted with the philosophy of Being as held in Europe, find out in his own constitution and in that of the Universe, the objects or functions, to which the terms refer, from these definitions? We will leave it to the reader to answer; and certainly will not insult him by telling him, that he should test the correctness of his philosophy, by its conformity to Hindu analysis.

Since Mr. Mullens professedly compiled his materials from different translations; a confused and uncertain terminology might be deemed excusable in his compilation; seeing that he only professes to follow his translated authorities. But since his Essay is offered as a guide to English readers, there are certain points which appear to us of sufficient importance to demand a few observations. Retaining the three terms already given, Mr. Mullens makes—

'Manas' to signify, 'the organ in which takes place the perception of pleasure, pain, and the like. It is in the form of an atom, and eternal,' (p. 166.) It is the 'sphere of living and present consciousness,' (pp. 85. 171) 'The mind, equivalent in modern philosophy, to the sphere of consciousness, or internal perception, is the instrument which apprehends pain, pleasure, and the internal sensations,' (pp. 85. 204.) It is 'internal consciousness,' (p. 336.) It is 'that portion of the mind, which is the sphere of all our conscious acts,' (p. 170.) 'The

'mind is only the instrument by which the soul perceives its internal work, and is aware of its own activity,' (380.) 'I have shewn you that I think the theory which separates "mind" from soul, incorrect; and that the soul exhibits a unity of constitution so complete, that if any part or faculty is taken away, it ceases to be soul any longer. What is soul, for example without perception, without reason, without memory, without consciousness?' (p. 387.)

'Prakriti' is 'that which precedes a thing made;' (p. 200.) it is 'substance,' (p. 187.) 'a compound of three other substances in equipoise;' (p. 398.) a 'primal agency'—an 'extremely refined essence,—an indefinable something;' (p. 54.) it is 'the plastic origin of all things;' (p. 52.) 'the universal material cause;' (p. 52.) 'not-ordinary matter, eternal matter,' (p. 52.) It is 'matter,' and 'Mul-Prakriti' is 'root-matter,' (pp. 49, 200.) and yet 'Hindu philosophy possesses no term exactly equivalent to the English word "matter," and comprising the class of objects which that word expresses,' (p. 88.)

The 'Triguna' are 'three qualities,' (p. 142.) 'These qualities belong to the very essence of nature. 'Prakriti' the root-matter of the Universe, denotes the substance from which they came forth. (p. 143) 'They are goodness, passion, and darkness, the affections of intellect.' 'Nature is the state of equipoise of goodness, passion, and darkness.' 'These are not qualities, (in the ordinary sense) but are the actual material engaged in the service of soul.' 'There is a triad of these qualities, and neither less nor more.' (p. 397) They are 'three material or natural substances,' (p. 398).

Mr. Mullens cannot be held responsible for the confusion, apparent or real, in these explanations. Much of that confusion is owing to the Hindu sages who wrote the books; and some to the translators. But there are a few points which should be noticed in Mr. Mullens' explanations.

Is 'Prakriti,' and are the 'Triguna' as stated and explained in the Hindu systems, objects or functions in the economy of creation? Or are they pure fictions, devised by the sages, as expedients either to cloak ignorance, or to serve a purpose in controversy? Mr. Mullens very properly, we think, refuses his sanction to the notion called 'Manas,' or mind, though we wish he had gone further, and exposed thoroughly the false process and wrong analysis connected with the fiction. We certainly cannot say that we understand his meaning when he asserts that 'Manas' is equivalent to the 'sphere of consciousness in modern philosophy;' and that it is the 'instrument which apprehends pleasure &c.' Has the 'Manas' of Hindu philosophy, any

'equivalent' in modern philosophy, or in creation as it is? Why Mr. Mullens should assert that it has, and again (p. 387) deny the existence of 'Manas,' and treat it as an imaginary fabrication, we cannot well make out. Nor do we fully understand what is meant by saying that a 'sphere,' or even an 'instrument,' *apprehends* anything.

If 'Manas,' 'Prakriti,' and the 'Triguna,' are accepted as real objects or functions in an analysis of the economy of Nature; why reject the 'Sukma Sarir,' the 'thumb-like soul,* the 'ethereal cavity of the heart,† the '727,200,000 arteries,‡ and the whole anatomic theory? Is the theory of the Hindu systems regarding spirit (Atma); God (Brahma); Intellect (Bud-dhi); self-consciousness (Ahangkára), and the like, consonant with the true notions of those objects and functions?

If Hindu notions of God, man, and the world, together with their attributes, laws and relations, be fundamentally correct, and only erroneous in minor details; then why write these formidable Essays? If Hindu sages are radically defective in their analysis of the world as it is, and of man as he is—if they are erroneous in their definitions of spirit and of matter; of God and of man; of nature in its source, its attributes, and its laws, why accept their 'Brahma' as our God; their 'Atma' as our soul or spirit; their 'Prakriti' as our Nature, and their 'Manas' as our mind? The Biblical—the rational—analysis and definitions of these objects, on European principles of investigation, differ essentially from the definition found in Hindu writings. Their 'Brahma,' has but few attributes or marks in common with Jehovah, the God of the Bible; or even with the Intelligent First Cause of cultivated natural reason. The existence of a First Cause, demonstrated from creation as it stands in its relation to the mind and reason of man, may be either regarded simply as the subtratum of being—as an unintelligent, insensate *Thing*; or, as a source of order as well as of being—as the *summa intelligentia*. Now the 'Brahma' of the Hindus is neither, and yet he is said to be both. He is not the *Ens entium*, for as 'Brahma' not as 'Prakriti' he is declared to be inactive and does nothing. Nor is he the source of order, for though he is declared to be knowledge (*juána*), yet it is declared that his knowledge is incommunicable and unmanifested by any action of his own. Activity is utterly denied to him. He is simply

* See Katha Upanishad ii. § 4. 12. Svet. Up. iii 13 &c.

† Katha Up. ii. 12. 20. IV. 6. V. 3. &c.

‡ Prasna Up. iii. 6. &c.

a 'Juána Vastu,' an immoveable, inactive, quality-less, *knowledge-thing*—if such a compound may be excusable. He is, as described by the Hindus, a kind of being, who has nothing whatever to do with his own, or with any other, existence—a little more unintelligible than the *Das Seyn* of the Germans; because *Das Wesen*, *Das Werden*, *Das Absolute* and the like, are denied to 'Brahma'.

Again the *man* of the Hindu Shastra, is a very different being from the *man* actually found in creation. The Hindu analysis of man, as made up of the distinct substances called *soul*, *mind*, *intellect*, &c., and of two bodies, innumerable arteries, &c., agrees not with what any man is conscious of, or cognizes regarding himself.

What European philosopher can recognize his idea of Nature, in the Hindu descriptions of 'Prakriti?' Kant defines *Nature* to be 'the totality of phenomena connected, in respect of their existence, according to necessary rules, that is laws' (Critique B. ii. c. 2 § 3). But the 'Prakriti' of Hindu philosophy is a 'substance' a 'primal and radical energy,' an 'aggregate, and an equipoise of three qualities.' We have noticed that Dr. Ballantyne, by a refinement of his own, not of Hindu writers, as far as we are aware, has attempted to shew that the Hindu term 'guna' is the same as the sum-total of the phenomena of the world of sense. We shall have occasion to return to this refinement again, when we come to consider Vedantic tenets.

The general inference which we wish to draw from the foregoing observations, are these two:—

First; Hindu principles and method of investigation, as contained in the three systems under consideration, we hold to be radically unphilosophical, illogical, and untrustworthy. Their premises are dogmatic; their processes faulty; and their inferences very frequently inconclusive and erroneous. The Hindu volumes analyzed in these Essays, offer no rational and intelligible analysis either of God, of man, of the world or of the different relations between these objects. This broad assertion is made with reference to each of the three systems, taken as a whole; but not to every branch of enquiry in each.

Secondly, judging from these two Essays, the mental point of view adopted by their writers, appears to be very different. One seems to have fixed himself, as to the religious aspect of his view, upon the Bible as the Infallible Revelation, requiring no proof, and looking down, from this elevated position, upon the philosophical investigations of Christendom, as its buttresses and outworks, and upon Hindu philosophy as the citadel of the enemy. As to the metaphysical aspect of his view, it seems

to be destitute of any fixed theory or system. It is indefinite. The other appears to have placed himself in the centre of a circle of Hindu sages—of whom a select few were invited to sit by him as friends and equals. He almost apologizes to this circle for the obligation laid upon him, to introduce to their considerations, the tenets of a new religion, which differed in some material points from the principles of their profound and matured philosophy; and which were made manifest in Scriptures, which laid claims to a stronger evidence in favour of their Divine origin, than even the Four Vedas, and which are so exclusive in their claims, that they utterly exclude and reject the possibility of any other Divine Institute.

Both of these mental stand-points have their advantages, and their disadvantages. At present we can only examine very briefly the treatment of Vedantic tenets by the writers, from their respective points of view; reserving the consideration of the treatment of the other two systems for the present.

Following this order, we propose to furnish a summary view of Vedantic tenets as given in these essays; of the errors of those tenets as drawn out and refuted by the writers; and then offer a few remarks of our own, explanatory of our views with reference to the character and completeness of those refutations. For the sake of greater brevity and clearness, we shall adopt the plan of placing the two summaries, as well as the errors and their refutations, in parallel columns.

SUMMARIES OF VEDANTIC TENETS.

Dr. Ballantyne.

'Nothing really exists besides One. And this One real being is absolutely simple. This One simple being is knowledge,' (p. 31.)

'According to the Vedanta there is no object; and hence it follows that the term subject is not strictly applicable, any more than is the term substance, to the One reality.' (p. 31.)

'Soul, the One reality, is accordingly spoken of in the Vedanta, "not as a substance, (dravya) * * * but as the Thing, or, literally, "that which abides,"" (Vastu) (*Ibid*)

The mental process leading to the great tenet of the Vedanta, is this;

1. Nothing comes from nothing;
2. Creation and limited intelligence exist:

Mr. Mullens.

'In spite of appearances, there is in the Universe but One real existence (Vastu); the being who is existence, knowledge, and joy, the supreme Brahma.' p. 113.

'Brahma is the substance of the Universe * * * * nothing exists but he,' (him ?) p. 128.

'He (i. e. the student) gets to understand that all duality is an illusion; that * * * * all is Brahma; that he is himself Brahma; * * * * subject, object, and the relation between them disappear. * * * * Nothing is left but One.' p. 115.

'The Unreal has been based upon the Real, by an improper process of "imputation"; just as there is sometimes imputed to a rope, the unreal notion that it is a snake.' p. 113.

3. Therefore—holding both—Brahma created from himself.

Hence the Universe is identical with Brahma.

But whence the notion of Creation? and of the non-recognition that the soul is identical with Brahma?

Answer. From Ignorance. Hence Ignorance became the cause of every thing besides Brahma. (p. 32.)

What is this 'Ignorance'? 'It is a something neither real nor unreal, in the shape of entity,—the opponent of knowledge—consisting of the three fetters.' (p. 34.)

'Ignorance is' equivalent to the sum-total of qualities.'

What is the origin of the notion of the three qualities?

Answer 'the phenomena of pure cognition; of lively emotion; and of inertness. To one or other of these three heads, every phenomenon may, with a little ingenuity, be referred.' (p. 35.)

'Ignorance' has two powers,

1. That by which it *envelopes* soul; giving rise to the conceit of personality of conscious individuality."

2. That by which it *projects* the phantasmagoria of the world, which the individual regards as external to himself.' (p. 35.)

'This (i. e. the improper imputation) is caused by ignorance.'

'By ignorance has the universe been produced.' p. 114.

'Ignorance is a kind of thing, different both from existence and non-existence, in the shape of an entity, consisting of the three "qualities," the opponent of knowledge.' p. 113,

'In modern language, it (i. e. ignorance) is understood to mean the phenomenal, as distinguished from the substance which underlies it; as we have seen all "nature" is recognized as the aggregate of the three qualities.' p. 114.

'This ignorance in separate soul has two powers, a covering power, and a producing power. By obstructing the mind of the observer, the covering power hides the infinite soul, and makes it appear limited. The producing power gives rise to notions of happiness, misery, possession, and dominion; * * * and produces in the soul expanses of the universe, and projects them as a phantasm before the mind's eye.' p. 114.

This may suffice. Those who wish to pursue the subject further should have recourse to the Essays, and to the original works from which they quote and draw their materials. The notion, that 'Ignorance' is equivalent to the phenomenal world, we believe to have been originated by Europeans, not by Hindus. We have found it no where except in Dr. Ballantyne's writings. Whence Mr. Mullens has borrowed it, we are not aware.

The passage referred to above by Dr. Ballantyne from the Vedānta Sār, defining 'Ignorance' to be a 'something neither real nor unreal, in the shape of *bhāva*,' does not prove satisfactorily to our mind that 'Ignorance' signifies 'the sum-total of qualities.' On the contrary, it seems to us that the description of 'Ignorance' in the passage referred to, and throughout that little Treatise, shews that it is spoken of as an attribute in the relation between soul and the world. The author treats of the views which the soul takes of its own existence, and of that of the external world; and not of the reality or unreality of the existence

of either regarded in itself. What is there predicated of 'Ignorance,' we predicate of 'Idea.' If we take the word *bháva* to signify 'entity,' as Dr. Ballantyne does, adopting its sense in Kapila's and Gantama's systems, still 'Ignorance' is said to be *bhavarupa*, not *swarupa*, or in the shape of entity not identical with it. We regard *ideas* as the shape or image of the objects of sense; not the objects themselves. The word *bháva*, in its most common and popular acceptation, signifies the ideas arising in the mind regarding objects of sense, not the objects themselves. Why reject that sense here?

But if we take Dr. Ballantyne's explanation of 'Ignorance' in this Essay, it cannot mean the 'sum-total of qualities,' because the two powers which manifest it, 'envelope the soul,' and 'project the world.' If by *soul* is meant here, the Limitless One, to 'envelope' such a One, can convey no possible meaning; but if the word 'soul' refers to the individual soul, then 'Ignorance' cannot be the 'sum-total of the qualities' of the soul which it 'envelopes.' Again the term 'world' implies the 'sum-total of qualities,' whether it has a real substratum or not; and therefore to say that 'Ignorance' is the 'sum-total of qualities,' and that it 'projects a world,' which also involves the 'sum-total of qualities,' amounts to the same thing as to say that 'Ignorance projects' itself. The existence of the 'soul' and of the 'world,' is necessary to the manifestation of the 'two powers of Ignorance' in the theory. If the former vanish, the latter must vanish with it. If it be said that 'Ignorance' is, by a figure of speech, personified here, still that cannot remove the difficulty; for 'Ignorance' must be a personification of something, otherwise it is but an imaginary fabrication. It cannot be a personification of the individual soul; for it 'envelopes' it; nor yet of the external world, for it 'projects' it. Hence we conclude that it is intended to refer to the *relation* between these two. The question under investigation by Sadánanda in the Treatise is, whether the world and the soul are real existences or not. This fiction of 'Ignorance' with two powers, which depend for their manifestation upon the existence of the *soul* and the *world*, manifestly can furnish no solution to the question.

We certainly cannot concur in Dr. Ballantyne's praise of the Hindus as profound metaphysicians. Breadth of thought, profundity, careful and logical analysis of objects and of principles, they certainly have not produced in their sutras and commentaries. But acute quibbling and dogmatic assertions we have in abundance. A collection of phrases more crude and illogical than Vedánta Sár, we think can rarely be found. Its author undertakes to prove

that all objects are identical with the one thing (Vastu); and shews that 'Ignorance in its totality is one; in its variety, many.' This identity is asserted without a shadow of proof; and profusely illustrated by a reference to the relation between a forest and the trees which compose it, and the atmosphere which surrounds it; between water and its varieties; between objects and their reflection in liquids; between fire and heated iron &c., &c. Because genera include their species; and because the chemistry and the laws of nature produce changes, either apparent or real; it is inferred that the world is identical with God; or that God is the substance of the world.

But we must return to the Essays. Our general inference is, that in the Vedānta Sār, 'Ignorance' both in its totality and in its variety, applies to the *relation* between the soul and the world; not to their *existence*.

ERRORS OF THE VEDANTA AND THEIR REFUTATIONS.

Dr. Ballantyne.

1st. Error. 'Granting to the Vedantins that nothing of *itself* exists besides the one; it neither follows that a man is the one; nor that a man's endless course of existence depends upon himself alone.' p. 38.

Refutation.

(1.) 'The Vedantins, as philosophers—would seem to have been duped by the word *thing*, and its kindred term, *real*. They chose to restrict the name of *thing* to spirit, and then jumped to the conclusion that all else must be *nothing*, or nothing of any consequence.' p. 42.

(2.) 'Though the Vedantin be a Pantheist; yet he is a spirit of a far higher mode, (than the materialist,) erring though he be.' p. 49.

(3.) According to the teaching of the Vedānta, there is really no will of God; for if, by the word God is meant Brahma, then that consists of knowledge only, and is what is meant by the word *Veda* itself. And the *Veda* cannot be the *revealer* of the will of God, else we should find a duality; whereas, according to the creed of the Vedāntin, there is no distinction between the Veda and the Lord. pp. 57-58.

(4.) 'If there is any Vedantin in the world; then to argue with him would be like arguing with a child or a madman.' pp. 58-59.

Mr. Mullens.

1st. Error. 'God is identical with matter, and with the human soul.' pp. 180-282.

Refutation.

(1.) God should be glorious; the Vedānta makes him very contemptible.

(2.) 'The Vedānta confounds matter and soul.'

(3.) The defects and imperfections in creation, are those of Brahma, if creation is identical with Brahma.

(4.) If the universe is identical with Brahma, why does it not possess the excellences of Brahma?

(5.) If soul is identical with Brahma, whence the sense of duality in individual consciousness?

(6.) If the All is identical with Brahma, whence the real differences observable in contraries and opposites?

(7.) If Brahma is secondless, whence the different Gods, and castes of men? Therefore the universe is not identical with God. pp. 182-197.

Again, this doctrine of identity cannot be established by holding the tenet of a *Máyá* or Illusion in human consciousness regarding the existence of objects; because:—

(1.) The theory of *Máyá* insults God, by making him the author of an illusive sport.

(5.) If the Vedantins assert that a Trinity is impossible, he errs, because the truth of the Christian Scriptures has been established; and because, if the One Reality is manifested in the form of all human souls, then the Doctrine of the Trinity may be easily accepted. pp. 72-73.

(2.) If men are Brahma, they cannot be deceived.

(3.) If men are bound by *Máyá* they can never be undeceived.

(4.) The exercises of religion, and a long course of study &c., cannot prove the means of undeceiving them.

Therefore men are not deceived by *Máyá* regarding the identity of the universe with Brahma. pp. 298-304.

2nd Error. The transmigration of souls.

Refutation.

There is no transmigration, because:—

(1.) The Hindu Spiritual Institutes are no Authority in proof thereof. pp. 105.

(2.) The origin of evil cannot be accounted for by the doctrine of Transmigration, for, as Paley observes, *regressus* diminishes not the difficulty, in any degree; therefore no point in the series could render the solution easier. pp. 87-90.

(3.) Diversity of conditions cannot be accounted for, by the doctrine of transmigration. As a chain does not become competent to support itself, through indefinite addition to its links, just as incompetent is transmigration to account for diversities in conditions.

2nd Error, The transmigration of souls.

Refutation.

This refutation is divided into, answers to Hindu objections; and direct arguments.

Answers to objections.

(1.) The inequalities in the conditions of men are fewer than is often thought.

(2.) The inequalities that do exist, are frequently attributable to the conduct of the person himself: or to other men.

(3.) Inequalities in the conditions of men are sometimes of Divine appointment as tests of character.

(4.) These inequalities are appointed by God for the good of society.

(5.) The inequalities of physical and mental defects from birth, are often the results of hereditary diseases, and consequences of sin, and sovereign acts of the Deity against sin, and partial means of man's probation; and occasions for sympathy and benevolence.

(6.) If there be no transmigration, whence come the souls of fresh births? Answer. Why cannot God continue the exercise of His creative power, in creating new souls?

Direct arguments.

(1.) Transmigration confounds the various classes of existing beings.

(2.) Human recollection contradicts the notion of transmigration.

(3.) Transmigration is a system of great injustice; because the soul is punished or rewarded for actions, of which the recollection is utterly lost.

(4.) The object of the doctrine, viz., the improvement of soul, is defeated, by obliging it to frequent a wicked world during the *Kally Yoga*. pp. 377-396.

3rd Error. The doctrine of fate.

Man cannot be held responsible for his belief and acts, without Freedom of will—and freedom, or independence on a previous cause is impossible—since it has been proved that an uncaused cause is inconceivable. pp. 82-3.

3rd Error. The doctrine of innate dispositions, and of Fate, which makes God the author alike of good and evil.

The dispositions communicated to men and other creatures are of various kinds, corporeal and intellectual, essential and incidental, leading upwards or urging downwards, and productive of all the numberless varieties of character, lot, and history of created beings in this, and all other worlds; they are all derived from the different proportions of the three *gunas*, with which each individual is formed' p. 400.

Refutation.

(1.) Freedom of Will in God or man is conceivable.

(2.) Our consciousness of accountability shews that freedom to be, practically, a fact.

(3.) A beginningless series of causes and effects forced upon us by the doctrine of necessity, is as inconceivable as uncaused origination. Thus, in theory, the difficulties of Liberty and Necessity balance; but, practically, the consciousness of moral accountability cannot be accounted for, excepting upon the supposition of freedom of will to act. Hence the scale turns in favour of freedom. pp. 83-86.

Our analysis has grown somewhat long; but it was thought desirable to furnish a broad and fair foundation for the few observations which we proceed to make on the Essays.

The line of argument adopted by Mr. Mullens for refuting Hindu errors, will, no doubt, recommend itself at once to most Christian readers, but judging from a Hindu point of view, we fear many of his arguments will appear inconclusive, and will fail to produce conviction. The reason for this result is sufficiently manifest.

He has assumed the correctness of the Christian point of view, which he has adopted as the test of the truth and error of dogmas. The Hindu calls in question the soundness of that point of view, and rejects the test. The engineer who runs a mine in an upper stratum, to counteract that of an enemy in a lower one, and in a different direction, must fail of success. Transcendental errors can but seldom be refuted with arguments purely empirical, drawn from sensuous knowledge. The Hindu sage argues about absolute Being; the nature and origin of phenomena; and their relations.

Refutation.

(1.) Men are conscious of freedom in their actions; whence that consciousness, unless they possess freedom?

(2.) Human actions spring from human motives.

(3.) Men universally assign praise and blame, according to the motives of actions.

(4.) The attributes of wisdom, holiness, justice, benevolence assigned to God in the Hindu Shastras, are inconsistent with the notion that he is the author of sin. pp. 396-417.

Given an Agent cogitating, an object cogitated, and the result in the shape of an inference. There are several ways to test the correctness of that inference. Let the object contemplated be the absolute being: one might examine whether the object contemplated is, from the conditions and necessity of its very being, cognizable or uncognizable, absolutely considered. Another might examine the conditions of all possible relations between the thinker and the object contemplated. A third might enquire into the nature, extent, and other conditions of the powers of the agent. The Hindu adopted the first method, arrived at a point in which 'I do not know' must be the answer to all further enquiry. Then instead of descending to the other method, he converted his very 'Ignorance' into the means of solution, and undertook to explain the absolute from that point of view. By way of illustration; suppose a person were to assert that he had made a tour to Sirius and back again. A simple 'No' would not serve for a refutation, for he, and others might hold that a simple 'Yes' is its equivalent. One might assail such an assertion by enquiring into the chemical composition and force of attraction of that star; the kind of beings, and of life adapted to its atmosphere, elements, and other conditions; supposing such examination to be possible, and within the reach of man. Another might enquire into all the possible relations between an inhabitant of this insignificant planet, and that enormous and distant luminary. Another might apply the gauge of logic and experience to the conditioned powers of locomotion belonging to the asserter, as the agent in such a journey. These different points of view, are easily applicable to human enquiries connected with the unconditioned and the absolute. But unless he who asserts, and he who refutes have a clear comprehension of each other's point of view, it is manifest that no conclusion can be obtained, and no conviction produced. Mr. Mullens' refutation of the first error might serve to explain this point.

There is but one additional remark that we wish to offer regarding Mr. Mullens' treatment of the subject. The Dialogues appear to us to be ill-constructed. The 'English Judge,' has evidently made himself the commander-in-chief, fixes the positions, and orders the movements, on both sides. Guru Das, and the other prolocutors are mere puppets in his hands. They always bring on their objections, frame their sentences, and introduce their quotations, in accordance with his will. And the 'Judge' is imprudent enough to remind his prolocutors that they are at his service, by such phrases as:—'That is the point to which I wish your attention to be turned;' 'I am well aware, O Pandit;' 'you have well stated, O friend;' 'exactly, these are the

illustrations I mean : ' and the like. Guru Das and his colleagues must have been a very different set of men from Dr. Ballantyne's Bapu Deva Sastri, and his Benares Colleagues 'who are 'no children.' Moreover, Guru Das' sentences are almost all cast in an English mould, a feat no *bonâ fide* Pandit can do.

Mr. Mullens' Essay was written for English, not for Hindu readers. Almost every sentence in it proves this fact. As a comprehensive sketch or compendium of Hindu tenets, English readers in general owe him much gratitude for so laborious a performance. But the critical student must, we fear, employ other means, if he wishes to acquire a sound and deep knowledge of the principles of Hindu philosophy.

The method adopted by Dr. Ballantyne to dispose of the errors of Vedantism, demands a more lengthened investigation. The point of view which he has adopted in his investigation appears to be this :—

The material or phenomenal world has no *real existence*—there are no 'material substances.' 'The "matter," which (you say) 'is alleged in the Bible to have been brought from non-existence 'to existence, neither exists, nor could possibly.' (p. 32) 'It 'may be said, it suffices to establish the authority of the Veda, 'that it is in harmony with all demonstration. In the Bible, on the 'other hand, we are told that the world was produced out of nothing.' (Book II. Aph. V. p. 29.) The purport of this whole aphorism appears to be, to bring forward proofs that the Vedantic tenets regarding the Absolute Oneness of *real existence*, as against the teaching of Bible, is the only rational and demonstrable view of the subject of creation. The names of Sir W. Hamilton, Sir W. Jones, and Bishop Berkeley are adduced—and even rendered into Sanscrit—in proof of the correctness of the Vedantic view of the matter. The teaching of the Bible, that *to create* means to make a thing out of nothing, is held to be the reverse of the teaching of 'unassisted intellect,' which teaches that the *real* is but one, that sin, misery &c. are all illusions; that man himself is God, and so forth. (p. 35) Dr. Ballantyne, though professing his faith in Bible teaching, agrees with the Vedantin as to the teaching of reason: 'I can articulate the word *creation*, 'and I may appear to attach a distinct idea to the term when I 'say that it means "making out of nothing," which I do hold 'it to mean, but is it possible for me to conceive, that what is so 'made has in it a principle of existence which would sustain it 'for an instant, if the creative force were withdrawn? I am *not* 'able to conceive this.' (p. 34)

Admitting that the particular relation between the unconditioned and the conditioned, which we call 'to create' is beyond

the limits of the conditioned comprehension of man; yet we hold that it is not more comprehensible to say that 'to create, is to transform the substance (Vastu) of the creation into the shapes of phenomenal objects;' than to say that 'to create is to make a thing out of nothing.'

Hence we infer that Dr. Ballantyne has taken up a very serious position in a treatise professedly on Christian theism, when he asserts that the Biblical theory of creation, is contrary to reason, and the Vedantic theory the only rational view of the matter. Speculations of the kind, might be allowed to pass unchallenged, as individual opinions, in metaphysical treatises; but it is a very different matter, for a writer to undertake the task of giving a faithful view of the teaching of the Bible, in a language which is the depository of the literature of a fifth of the human species. In this Essay Dr. Ballantyne speaks for Christians, and therefore Christians have a right to examine his teaching. There are hundreds of clergymen and divines in the pulpits and seminaries of Christendom, who are, at least, as learned as Dr. Ballantyne in the doctrines and teaching of the Bible; who deem it their duty to 'hold fast the form of sound words' which it teaches; whose attachment to its truths is stronger and of a higher nature than their attachment to their natural lives. Do those consider it contrary to the teaching of 'unassisted intellect' to believe that God by His Almighty Power and Will, gave existence to the Universe out of nothing? Do they find that the conception which they have of this article of their faith is 'similar to the conception of a round square?' Are they conscious that the 'speculative reason, fearlessly followed, brings them inevitably to the brink of that precipice of pantheism, over which, the Vedántin would have them cast themselves?' (p. 35.) Why refer to clergymen? There are thousands of enlightened and pious laymen, who are as familiar as Dr. Ballantyne with the speculations of Berkeley, Hamilton and the rest, and yet do not regard the teaching of the Book, which holds the highest place in their affections, and has become the law of their lives, as being contrary to the teaching of their 'unassisted intellect;' nor do they believe that their 'speculative reason'—for we suppose the privilege of possessing one will be conceded them—brings them inevitably to the brink of the precipice of Pantheism.

But supposing all believers in the Bible were to accept the conclusion, that it is contrary to reason to believe that the world was created out of nothing; that the fact of such a creation is 'unthinkable;' that such a conception is either too great or too small for the human soul; or that it is in itself contrary to the laws of thought, what then? Will the contrary view

remove the difficulty, and relieve the mind from its embarrassment? Is it more conceivable that a 'certain quiddity' which we call a stone was evolved out of a spiritual substance or that the stone is a certain form of that substance; than to conceive that a creative will of infinite power gave existence to a substance differing from itself? Admitting for argument's sake, that the notion, 'to create a thing out of nothing,' is unthinkable, we must hold that the alternative one of evolving what we experience and regard as matter or non-spirit, from spirit-substance, is equally unthinkable.

An atom or a universe is present to the mind, a person wishes to form a conception of its origin and nature. He may commence with the notion that the Real alone is One; that substance alone is Real, and that Spirit alone is substance. He has an atom under contemplation, and he discovers either that he must have two realities, the atom and his mind; or that one of these is but a modification of the other; or that one of these must have, by some process, originated the other; or, finally, he may regard both as dependent, and must fall back in search of an original substance. He might advance a step further, and conceive that a notion of extension is essential to the conception of the attributes and properties of the atom; that between the atom and his own thinking self there must exist some sort of relation. But duality being an essential element of the notion of Relation, he has already two existences—the atom and thinking self; nor can he, by any process of thought, reduce the two into an identical one. The notion of duality cannot be cancelled by any process of his thinking powers. Other difficulties soon crowd upon him. What is the relation between this thinking being and the atom or the extension which I contemplate? though the perception of the atom is conditioned by a notion of extension, without which the atom cannot become an object of thought; yet how can I demonstrate that this is not a condition of my thinking powers, rather than of the atom and extension in themselves? How can I prove that the extension, of which I have conception, is absolutely infinite in its own nature, and not merely negatively infinite only in reference to the capacity of my mind to measure it? By what process of ratiocination can I shew that this extension is a substratum in itself; of which the atom which I perceive, is either a part or a manifestation? Or, if I suppose the atom or the universe a portion or a manifestation of an infinite substance; how can I comprehend and trace out the origin, the cause, the method, and the extent of the transformation?

Our sole object in referring to these metaphysical speculations here, is to shew that the assertion that 'speculative reason'

necessarily leads to Pantheism, is founded upon a partial view of the matter. The impressions of the objects of the external world, received by the percipient mind, must involve the notion either of the Reality or of the Unreality of those objects. If the notion or conception produced by those impressions, be a notion of the unreality of the objects perceived; whence the necessity of arraying all the powers of the 'speculative reason' to persuade people to believe conceptions produced by the impressions of their daily experiences. But if the sensuous impressions give rise to a conception of Reality and Substantiality, in the objects perceived, and the inference of ratiocination, and the conclusions of the 'speculative intellect,' prove the unreality of those objects; then, since these contradict one another regarding the same fact, at the same time, one of them must be wrong.

Is there a real and substantial substratum to all the objects of the phenomenal universe?

Mankind at large answer this question in the affirmative; because the mind conceives properties and qualities, only as the attributes of some underlying substratum or support. Mankind do not profess to have any knowledge of that support, but only of the aggregate of qualities, by means of sensuous experience. The mind, by a sort of natural process, belonging to the laws of thought, infers the existence of a support. The inference cannot be proved, says Bishop Berkeley; it is contrary to 'speculative reason,' says Dr. Ballantyne. A ploughman steps in, and demands:—'Prove that the properties made known by my sense-experience, have no underlying support.' The utmost that the Bishop and the Doctor can advance in reply is, 'We cannot prove a negative; but produce you your proof that there is such a substratum; and we will show their futility; though we cannot prove the contrary.' Our ploughman might reply; 'my sense-experience of the aggregate of qualities, in the shape of perception, involves in itself an inference of a support; and as I never knew a man who did not believe that the figure and hardness of the stone against which he stumbled, were properties of a real substance, I think that notion is universal.'

The view of the ploughman here might be held, not besides, but notwithstanding, Bishop Berkeley's opinion that colours, tastes, extension, figure &c., exist only in the mind; and his doubts regarding the prevalence of the notion of real substances, made known by sense-experience. The ploughman's view is founded upon an analysis of the contents of a mental conception arising from sense-knowledge, and is held to be a necessary inference involved in the relation between primitive and derivative cognitions. Were it granted that we can neither prove nor

disprove the reality of the external world; yet the existence of Ideas being provable; the enquiry into the cause and origin of those states or changes proceeds from the laws of thought. Does consciousness testify of the *changes* only? or also of the changes in the mental state, in their *relations* to their origin, that is, sense-experience.

Now if Dr. Ballantyne's logic, on another subject, is sound, we think that the ploughman has the best of the argument. 'The doctrines of Liberty and Necessity, (says Dr. Ballantyne) are two Incomprehensibles, and thus balance each other; but the fact that a consciousness of freedom is felt by all, turns the scale in favour of liberty.' So is the ploughman's argument; 'the existence of the substratum of qualities cannot be proved; nor can its non-existence be proved; thus the two theories balance. But the conscious notion of a support underlying the properties made known by sense-experience, turns the scale in favour of its existence.'

But however the metaphysical speculations, regarding the existence or non-existence of a substantial substratum to the phenomenal world, be decided; that is not our present object. We have to do with the Ontology of the Bible, and of the Hindus; and it appears to us that Dr. Ballantyne, by introducing this controversy into his Essay, has done a great disservice to the Hindus whom he wishes to enlighten, and a great injustice to the Bible, which he wishes to make known to them.

We have strong faith in Dr. Ballantyne's uprightness, and in the purity of his aim and intention. And for this very reason, we regret the more to be forced to observe, that to our apprehension Aphorisms V. and VI. in Book II. of the Essay, are calculated to mislead and to do injury to Hindu readers. The purport of those Aphorisms we take to be this:—Sir W. Hamilton, Sir W. Jones, and Bishop Berkeley, on the one hand, and the Bible on the other hand, contradict one another regarding the fact of creation; the former agree with the teaching of the Vedas, and of reason; the teaching of the latter is contrary to the voice of reason; as it should be, since it is a divine revelation. Whether these were the views which Dr. Ballantyne intended to inculcate, we, of course, cannot say; but we fear that every Hindu who may read the Essay, will so understand its teaching. Those three excellent men, would not, we think, much enjoy the position in which they are placed in these Aphorisms.

It is worthy of consideration also, whether Vedantic tenets, as held by the Hindus, will bear the favourable construction put upon them in this Essay. Full fourteen pages are taken up with the defence of the Vedantin. His theory of creation and of

existence is made out to be nearly as orthodox as that of good Bishop Berkeley, if not as that of Paul. This defence demands a brief analysis. (see pp. 38—52.)

DEFENSIVE POSITIONS AND ERRORS OF THE VEDANTIN.

Defensive Positions.

Position 1st. There are three kinds of existence:—the independent; the dependent or phenomenal; and the seeming or illusive. The Christian should not accept "an unknown quiddity, with an absolute existence," and deny to the Vedantin his "philosophical belief," regarding that existence. pp. 38. 40.

2nd The Vedantin has been charged with the wildest extravagance, by being made to assert that the Supreme is devoid of qualities, when he asserts that Brahma is *Nirguna*. This charge is unjust, because the term "guna" is a technical term, signifying 'phenomenal, material.' Hence *Nirguna Brahma*, means *Immaterial God*. Again, "organs of sense or motion are made up of what the Vedantin calls 'Guna,' as we Europeans in general say, they are made up of what we prefer to call matter." p. 44.

3rd To say that Brahma exists "without intellect, without intelligence, without even the consciousness of his own existence," is no extravagance of the Vedantin. For "by intellect he means an internal organ" of cognition; by "intelligence" he means the conceptions of that "organ;" and by "consciousness," the individualizing of ourself by the thought of "ego," thereby implying an existent "non-ego." The denial of Brahma's consciousness in this sense, does not imply unconsciousness in the sense in which we employ the term. pp. 47. 48.

4th The vedic text, "all this is Brahma," and the illustration taken from the spider spinning his web, do not prove the Vedantin a Pantheist. As no one would say that the web is the spider, so no one should infer that the world is Brahma. Again, "all this," does not mean the universe. The world is only a display of the phenomenal.

Assailable Positions.

Error 1st; The Vedánta system is Pantheism. But pantheism qualified by Sir W. Jones' "inextricable difficulty attending the *vulgar notion of material substances*, which induced * * * some of the most enlightened among the moderns to believe that the whole creation was rather an energy than a work." p. 32.

2nd "The Vedántins * * * * would seem to have been duped by the word *thing*, and its kindred term *real*. They chose to restrict the name of *thing* to spirit; and then jumped to the conclusion that all else must be nothing, or nothing of any consequence." "It is idle to disparage the immense importance of phenomena, by dubbing them 'insubstantial.'"

3rd "In the Vedánta, there is really no will of God; for Brahma consists of knowledge only; and is what is meant by the word Veda. Hence the Veda cannot be a revealer of Brahma, otherwise we should find a Duality, which is denied." p. 58

4th The veracity of the Vedas has not been proved; for:—(1) Their authority is said to be self-evident. (2) The speculative intellect is disposed to arrive at what they teach, without Divine aid. (3) If their great tenet, "The Real is but One," "there is no duality," be true, there is neither place for, nor need of, revelation.

5th. The epithet *Viśva-Charāṇa* may mean that the familiar conception of the chief energizing deity,—*īśvara*, the lord—is no other than the aggregate of all embodied souls; as a forest is no other than the trees that compose it." p. 171.

6th. The Vedantin holds not that *Brahma* has no attribute, but that "he is all attribute, sheer existence, sheer thought, sheer joy." p. 49.

5th. "Granting that nothing but the One exists *per se*; it is not just to infer that man is the One." (p. 38.) "If it be not agreed that there exists anything besides *Brahma*; then there is no foundation for the employment of arguments, either affirmative or negative. If there is any real Vedantin in the world, then to argue with him would be like arguing with a child or a madman," p. 58.

In this last 'error,' Dr. Ballantyne is literally cruel upon the Vedantin. However, 'Benares Pandits are no children,' and they need not be frightened at a slight excess in the language of their friend. We shall leave the task of reconciling the sentiments contained in the 'defence,' and the 'errors' to the intelligent readers of the Essay; and proceed, at once to examine the defence of the Vedantin; upon the soundness of which, to a great measure, depends the value of this Essay.

From the three adjectives given in Position 1st, we do not conceive how any legitimate inference regarding the reality or unreality of objects in the external world can be drawn. Those adjectives are intended to denote qualities, all of which are alike predicated of Existence (*Sattwa*). The phrase "such as has to be dealt with," is a clumsy and ambiguous rendering of the term *Vyāvahārikā*; which commonly signifies, *customary, usual, judicial*. Its substantive from *Vyāvahāra* is universally used in Bengal for *habit, behaviour, custom, usage*. No conclusion regarding the reality or unreality of 'matter' can be obtained from the quotation given in page 38. All that is asserted there, as seems to us, is that existence is divided into spiritual existence, customary or common existence, and apparent existence. With the exception of this last, the division agrees very well with our division into *spirit*, and *matter*; and because of the last, the Hindu analysis appears to us defective. Its defect arises naturally from the antecedent dogma of the 'Triguna,' and their product, 'Ignorance.' If 'existence' is real, then what is *apparent* existence? whatever it is, in the quotation it is asserted to have as much right to be called 'existence' as that to which the epithet *spiritual* is applied has. Moreover, the epithet 'seeming' must necessarily presuppose some known *real* existence, though it be but the product of imagination or dreams. The mention made of the 'unknown quiddity,' if employed in contempt of the theory regarding the reality of 'Matter,' is an attempt at begging the question under investigation. But Dr. Ballantyne's defence of the Vedantin, taken as a whole, hinges upon the signification which he attributes to the

Given an Agent cogitating, an object cogitated, and the result in the shape of an inference. There are several ways to test the correctness of that inference. Let the object contemplated be the absolute being: one might examine whether the object contemplated is, from the conditions and necessity of its very being, cognizable or uncognizable, absolutely considered. Another might examine the conditions of all possible relations between the thinker and the object contemplated. A third might enquire into the nature, extent, and other conditions of the powers of the agent. The Hindu adopted the first method, arrived at a point in which 'I do not know' must be the answer to all further enquiry. Then instead of descending to the other method, he converted his very 'Ignorance' into the means of solution, and undertook to explain the absolute from that point of view. By way of illustration; suppose a person were to assert that he had made a tour to Sirius and back again. A simple 'No' would not serve for a refutation, for he, and others might hold that a simple 'Yes' is its equivalent. One might assail such an assertion by enquiring into the chemical composition and force of attraction of that star; the kind of beings, and of life adapted to its atmosphere, elements, and other conditions, supposing such examination to be possible, and within the reach of man. Another might enquire into all the possible relations between an inhabitant of this insignificant planet, and that enormous and distant luminary. Another might apply the gauge of logic and experience to the conditioned powers of locomotion belonging to the asserter, as the agent in such a journey. These different points of view, are easily applicable to human enquiries connected with the unconditioned and the absolute. But unless he who asserts, and he who refutes have a clear comprehension of each other's point of view, it is manifest that no conclusion can be obtained, and no conviction produced. Mr. Mullens' refutation of the first error might serve to explain this point.

There is but one additional remark that we wish to offer regarding Mr. Mullens' treatment of the subject. The Dialogues appear to us to be ill-constructed. The 'English Judge,' has evidently made himself the commander-in-chief, fixes the positions, and orders the movements, on both sides. Guru Das, and the other prolocutors are mere puppets in his hands. They always bring on their objections, frame their sentences, and introduce their quotations, in accordance with his will. And the 'Judge' is imprudent enough to remind his prolocutors that they are at his service, by such phrases as:—'That is the point to which I wish your attention to be turned;' 'I am well aware, O Pandit;' 'you have well stated, O friend;' 'exactly, these are the

illustrations I mean :’ and the like. Guru Das and his colleagues must have been a very different set of men from Dr. Ballantyne’s Bapu Deva Sastri, and his Benares Colleagues ‘who are ‘no children.’ Moreover, Guru Das’ sentences are almost all cast in an English mould, a feat no *bond fide* Pandit can do.

Mr. Mullens’ Essay was written for English, not for Hindu readers. Almost every sentence in it proves this fact. As a comprehensive sketch or compendium of Hindu tenets, English readers in general owe him much gratitude for so laborious a performance. But the critical student must, we fear, employ other means, if he wishes to acquire a sound and deep knowledge of the principles of Hindu philosophy.

The method adopted by Dr. Ballantyne to dispose of the errors of Vedantism, demands a more lengthened investigation. The point of view which he has adopted in his investigation appears to be this :—

The material or phenomenal world has no *real existence*—there are no ‘material substances.’ ‘The “matter,” which (you say) ‘is alleged in the Bible to have been brought from non-existence ‘to existence, neither exists, nor could possibly.’ (p. 32) ‘It ‘may be said, it suffices to establish the authority of the Veda, ‘that it is in harmony with all demonstration. In the Bible, on the ‘other hand, we are told that the world was produced out of no- ‘thing.’ (Book II. Aph. V. p. 29.) The purport of this whole aphorism appears to be, to bring forward proofs that the Vedantic tenets regarding the Absolute Oneness of *real existence*, as against the teaching of Bible, is the only rational and demonstrable view of the subject of creation. The names of Sir W. Hamilton, Sir W. Jones, and Bishop Berkeley are adduced—and even rendered into Sanskrit—in proof of the correctness of the Vedantic view of the matter. The teaching of the Bible, that *to create* means to make a thing out of nothing, is held to be the reverse of the teaching of ‘unassisted intellect,’ which teaches that the *real* is but one, that sin, misery &c. are all illusions; that man himself is God, and so forth. (p. 35) Dr. Ballantyne, though professing his faith in Bible teaching, agrees with the Vedantin as to the teaching of reason. ‘I can articulate the word *creation*, ‘and I may appear to attach a distinct idea to the term when I ‘say that it means “making out of nothing,” which I do hold ‘it to mean, but is it possible for me to conceive, that what is so ‘made has in it a principle of existence which would sustain it ‘for an instant, if the creative force were withdrawn? I am *not* ‘able to conceive this.’ (p. 34)

Admitting that the particular relation between the unconditioned and the conditioned, which we call ‘to create’ is beyond

the limits of the conditioned comprehension of man; yet we hold that it is not more comprehensible to say that 'to create, is to transform the substance (Vastu) of the creation into the shapes of phenomenal objects;' than to say that 'to create is to make a thing out of nothing.'

Hence we infer that Dr. Ballantyne has taken up a very serious position in a treatise professedly on Christian theism, when he asserts that the Biblical theory of creation, is contrary to reason, and the Vedantic theory the only rational view of the matter. Speculations of the kind, might be allowed to pass unchallenged, as individual opinions, in metaphysical treatises; but it is a very different matter, for a writer to undertake the task of giving a faithful view of the teaching of the Bible, in a language which is the depository of the literature of a fifth of the human species. In this Essay Dr. Ballantyne speaks for Christians, and therefore Christians have a right to examine his teaching. There are hundreds of clergymen and divines in the pulpits and seminaries of Christendom, who are, at least, as learned as Dr. Ballantyne in the doctrines and teaching of the Bible; who deem it their duty to 'hold fast the form of sound words' which it teaches; whose attachment to its truths is stronger and of a higher nature than their attachment to their natural lives. Do those consider it contrary to the teaching of 'unassisted intellect' to believe that God by His Almighty Power and Will, gave existence to the Universe out of nothing? Do they find that the conception which they have of this article of their faith is 'similar to the conception of a round square?' Are they conscious that the 'speculative reason, fearlessly followed, brings them inevitably to the brink of that precipice of pantheism, over which, the Vedântin would have them cast themselves?' (p. 85.) Why refer to clergymen? There are thousands of enlightened and pious laymen, who are as familiar as Dr. Ballantyne with the speculations of Berkeley, Hamilton and the rest, and yet do not regard the teaching of the Book, which holds the highest place in their affections, and has become the law of their lives, as being contrary to the teaching of their 'unassisted intellect;' nor do they believe that their 'speculative reason'—for we suppose the privilege of possessing one will be conceded them—brings them inevitably to the brink of the precipice of Pantheism.

But supposing all believers in the Bible were to accept the conclusion, that it is contrary to reason to believe that the world was created out of nothing; that the fact of such a creation is 'unthinkable;' that such a conception is either too great or too small for the human soul; or that it is in itself contrary to the laws of thought, what then? Will the contrary view

remove the difficulty, and relieve the mind from its embarrassment? Is it more conceivable that a 'certain quiddity' which we call a stone was evolved out of a spiritual substance or that the stone is a certain form of that substance; than to conceive that a creative will of infinite power gave existence to a substance differing from itself? Admitting for argument's sake, that the notion, 'to create a thing out of nothing,' is unthinkable, we must hold that the alternative one of evolving what we experience and regard as matter or non-spirit, from spirit-substance, is equally unthinkable.

An atom or a universe is present to the mind, a person wishes to form a conception of its origin and nature. He may commence with the notion that the Real alone is One; that substance alone is Real, and that Spirit alone is substance. He has an atom under contemplation, and he discovers either that he must have two realities, the atom and his mind; or that one of these is but a modification of the other; or that one of these must have, by some process, originated the other; or, finally, he may regard both as dependent, and must fall back in search of an original substance. He might advance a step further, and conceive that a notion of extension is essential to the conception of the attributes and properties of the atom; that between the atom and his own thinking self, there must exist some sort of relation. But duality being an essential element of the notion of Relation, he has already two existences—the atom and thinking self; nor can he, by any process of thought, reduce the two into an identical one. The notion of duality cannot be cancelled by any process of his thinking powers. Other difficulties soon crowd upon him. What is the relation between this thinking being, and the atom or the extension which I contemplate? though the perception of the atom is conditioned by a notion of extension, without which the atom cannot become an object of thought; yet how can I demonstrate that this is not a condition of my thinking powers, rather than of the atom and extension in themselves? How can I prove that the extension, of which I have conception, is absolutely infinite in its own nature, and not merely negatively infinite only in reference to the capacity of my mind to measure it? By what process of ratiocination can I shew that this extension is a substratum in itself; of which the atom which I perceive, is either a part or a manifestation? Or, if I suppose the atom or the universe a portion or a manifestation of an infinite substance; how can I comprehend and trace out the origin, the cause, the method, and the extent of the transformation?

Our sole object in referring to these metaphysical speculations here, is to shew that the assertion that 'speculative reason'

necessarily leads to Pantheism, is founded upon a partial view of the matter. The impressions of the objects of the external world, received by the percipient mind, must involve the notion either of the Reality or of the Unreality of those objects. If the notion or conception produced by those impressions, be a notion of the unreality of the objects perceived; whence the necessity of arraying all the powers of the 'speculative reason' to persuade people to believe conceptions produced by the impressions of their daily experiences. But if the sensuous impressions give rise to a conception of Reality and Substantiality, in the objects perceived, and the inference of ratiocination, and the conclusions of the 'speculative intellect,' prove the unreality of those objects; then, since these contradict one another regarding the same fact, at the same time, one of them must be wrong.

Is there a real and substantial substratum to all the objects of the phenomenal universe?

Mankind at large answer this question in the affirmative; because the mind conceives properties and quantities, only as the attributes of some underlying substratum or support. Mankind do not profess to have any knowledge of that support, but only of the aggregate of qualities, by means of sensuous experience. The mind, by a sort of natural process, belonging to the laws of thought, infers the existence of a support. The inference cannot be proved, says Bishop Berkeley; it is contrary to 'speculative reason,' says Dr. Ballantyne. A ploughman steps in, and demands:—'Prove that the properties made known by my sense-experience, have no underlying support.' The utmost that the Bishop and the Doctor can advance in reply is:—'We cannot prove a negative; but produce you your proofs that there is such a substratum; and we will show their futility; though we cannot prove the contrary.' Our ploughman might reply; 'my sense-experience of the aggregate of qualities, in the shape of perception, involves in itself an inference of a support; and as I never knew a man who did not believe that the figure and hardness of the stone against which he stumbled, were properties of a real substance, I think that notion is universal.'

The view of the ploughman here might be held, not besides, but notwithstanding, Bishop Berkeley's opinion that colours, tastes, extension, figure &c., exist only in the mind; and his doubts regarding the prevalence of the notion of real substances, made known by sense-experience. The ploughman's view is founded upon an analysis of the contents of a mental conception arising from sense-knowledge, and is held to be a necessary inference involved in the relation between primitive and derivative cognitions. Were it granted that we can neither prove nor

disprove the reality of the external world; yet the existence of Ideas being provable; the enquiry into the cause and origin of those states or changes proceeds from the laws of thought. Does consciousness testify of the *changes* only? or also of the changes in the mental state, in their *relations* to their origin, that is, sense-experience.

Now if Dr. Ballantyne's logic, on another subject, is sound, we think that the ploughman has the best of the argument. 'The doctrines of Liberty and Necessity, (says Dr. Ballantyne) are two Incomprehensibles, and thus balance each other; but the fact that a consciousness of freedom is felt by all, turns the scale in favour of liberty.' So is the ploughman's argument; 'the existence of the substratum of qualities cannot be proved; nor can its non-existence be proved; thus the two theories balance. But the conscious notion of a support underlying the properties made known by sense-experience, turns the scale in favour of its existence.'

But however the metaphysical speculations, regarding the existence or non-existence of a substantial substratum to the phenomenal world, be decided; that is not our present object. We have to do with the Ontology of the Bible, and of the Hindus; and it appears to us that Dr. Ballantyne, by introducing this controversy into his Essay, has done a great disservice to the Hindus whom he wishes to enlighten, and a great injustice to the Bible, which he wishes to make known to them.

We have strong faith in Dr. Ballantyne's uprightness, and in the purity of his aim and intention. And for this very reason, we regret the more to be forced to observe, that to our apprehension Aphorisms V. and VI. in Book II. of the Essay, are calculated to mislead and to do injury to Hindu readers. The purport of those Aphorisms we take to be this:—Sir W. Hamilton, Sir W. Jones, and Bishop Berkeley, on the one hand, and the Bible on the other hand, contradict one another regarding the fact of creation; the former agree with the teaching of the Vedas, and of reason; the teaching of the latter is contrary to the voice of reason; as it should be, since it is a divine revelation. Whether these were the views which Dr. Ballantyne intended to inculcate, we, of course, cannot say; but we fear that every Hindu who may read the Essay, will so understand its teaching. Those three excellent men, would not, we think, much enjoy the position in which they are placed in these Aphorisms.

It is worthy of consideration also, whether Vedantic tenets, as held by the Hindus, will bear the favourable construction put upon them in this Essay. Full fourteen pages are taken up with the defence of the Vedantin. His theory of creation and of

existence is made out to be nearly as orthodox as that of good Bishop Berkeley, if not as that of Paul. This defence demands a brief analysis. (see pp. 38—52.)

DEFENSIVE POSITIONS AND ERRORS OF THE VEDANTIN.

Defensive Positions.

Position 1st. There are three kinds of existence:—the independent; the dependent or phenomenal; and the seeming or illusive. The Christian should not accept “an unknown quiddity, with an absolute existence,” and deny to the Vedantin his “philosophical belief,” regarding that existence. pp. 38. 40.

2nd The Vedantin has been charged with the wildest extravagance, by being made to assert that the Supreme is devoid of qualities, when he asserts that Brahma is *Nirguna*. This charge is unjust, because the term “guna” is a technical term, signifying ‘phenomenal, material.’ Hence *Nirguna Brahma*, means *Immaterial God*. Again, “organs of sense or motion are made up of what the Vedantin calls ‘Guna,’ as we Europeans in general say, they are made up of what we prefer to call matter.” p. 44.

3rd To say that Brahma exists “without intellect, without intelligence, without even the consciousness of his own existence,” is no extravagance of the Vedantin. For “by intellect he means an internal organ” of cognition; by “intelligence” he means the conceptions of that “organ;” and by “consciousness,” the individualizing of ourself by the thought of “ego,” thereby implying an existent “non-ego.” The denial of Brahma’s consciousness in this sense, does not imply unconsciousness in the sense in which we employ the term. pp. 47. 48.

4th The vedic text, “all this is Brahma,” and the illustration taken from the spider spinning his web, do not prove the Vedantin a Pantheist. As no one would say that the web is the spider, so no one should infer that the world is Brahma. Again, “all this,” does not mean the universe. The world is only a display of the phenomenal.

Assailable Positions.

Error 1st; The Vedanta system is Pantheism. But pantheism qualified by Sir W. Jones’ “inextricable difficulty attending the *vulgar notion of material substances*, which induced * * * some of the most enlightened among the moderns to believe that the whole creation was rather an energy than a work.” p. 32.

2nd “The Vedantins * * * would seem to have been duped by the word *thing*, and its kindred term *real*. They chose to restrict the name of *thing* to spirit; and then jumped to the conclusion that all else must be nothing, or nothing of any consequence.” “It is idle to disparage the immense importance of phenomena, by dubbing them ‘insubstantial.’”

3rd “In the Vedanta, there is really no will of God; for Brahma consists of knowledge only; and is what is meant by the word Veda. Hence the Veda cannot be a revealer of Brahma, otherwise we should find a Duality, which is denied.” p. 58

4th The veracity of the Vedas has not been proved; for:—(1) Their authority is said to be self-evident. (2) The speculative intellect is disposed to arrive at what they teach, without Divine aid. (3) If their great tenet, “The Real is but One,” “there is no duality,” be true, there is neither place for, nor need of, revelation.

5th. The epithet *Visva-Charshane* may mean that the familiar conception of the chief energizing deity,—*iswara*, the lord—is no other than the aggregate of all embodied souls; as a forest is no other than the trees that compose it." p. 171.

6th. The Vedantin holds not that *Brahma* has no attribute, but that "he is all attribute, sheer existence, sheer thought, sheer joy." p. 49.

5th. "Granting that nothing but the One exists *per se*; it is not just to infer that man is the One." (p. 38.) "If it be not agreed that there exists anything besides *Brahma*; then there is no foundation for the employment of arguments, either affirmative or negative. If there is any real Vedantin in the world, then to argue with him would be like arguing with a child or a madman," p. 58.

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term 'Guna,' in position 2nd. The usual sense is a *quality*, a *cord*—or 'fetter' as Dr. Ballantyne has it, although we know not why he has selected the word 'fetter', any more than 'tether' or any other word for a cord employed to fasten two objects together. That the Hindus ever employed this word in the sense we attach to the words 'phenomenal, material,' Dr. Ballantyne has either neglected or failed to prove; and we have failed, after a mature consideration, to see sufficient reason* for accepting the new signification which he proposes. We take the word 'phenomenal' here in its widest sense to signify not only all visible, but also all sensuous objects; which are sensuous indeed, by means of their qualities; but that decides nothing regarding their reality or unreality.

Now the view put forth here on this point, might be briefly stated thus:—The word 'guna' has but two primary significations in Hindu writings; namely, that of a quality; and that of a string, cord, or means for fastening and joining. That it ever signifies 'material, phenomenal,' appears to us to be unproved, if not unprovable from Hindu writings and usage. And hence it does not appear to be correct to say, that the phrase *Nirguna Brahma* conveys the same meaning to a Hindu, as the phrase *Immaterial God* does to a European; or even 'very much the same sense.'

Our reasons for making these assertions are briefly the following:—In the Nyaya and its collateral systems, the word 'dravya' is used for the objects of the phenomenal world; and 'Guna' is there used to denote what we call *qualities* which have their abode in substance (dravya). There 'Guna' cannot mean the phenomenal world. (Tarka Sangraha. 2-4, Vaiseshika. Aph. 5. 6. Bhasha Paricheheda. § 2-4). Secondly, The old lexicographer Amara Sina, in his *Kosha* makes 'guna' to signify, 'a bowstring; that which abides in substance, (dravya); goodness &c. (i. e. the Triguna); whiteness &c. (i. e. all colours); and that which joins &c.' (Amara Kosha. p. 124. verse 49.) Thirdly, though there is a degree of confusion about the signification of 'Guna' in the Sankhya and Yoga Aphorisms, arising from the previous adoption of the dogma of the 'Triguna' as the substance of 'Prakriti,' yet the passage quoted by Dr. Ballantyne (Sankhya Aph. Book I. Aph. 62.) does not appear to us to prove that the word 'guna' universally, but only as applied to the 'Three,' denotes qualities; and this the commentator—not Kapila—asserts of the 'Three,' 'because they are subservient to soul, and form the cords which bind the brute-beast to the soul.' Kapila's confused theory of creation, pressed hard, no doubt, upon the commentator; but it does not appear to us pro-

vable, that he has given a new meaning to the word 'guna.' Fourthly, It has not been shewn that any of the writers of the Vedánta and Mimánsá introduced this new signification to the term 'guna.' Fifthly, The use made of the word 'guna' elsewhere in this Essay, does not appear to be altogether consistent with this technical signification. We are told, for example that:—

'Ignorance' (ajnána) is the aggregate of the phenomenal. (p. 49)

'Guna' is the sensible—the sum of the objects of sense. (p. 45)

'Therefore Ignorance' is 'Guna' and what is predicated of the one may be also predicated of the other. But Dr. Ballantyne says (p. 34) that 'Ignorance' is 'equivalent to, and identical with the sum-total of qualities.' But 'guna' are never less than three; and those three can never be identical with one another; they must be distinct, whether eternal or non-eternal, otherwise the foundation of the *Shad-Darshana* is swept away. Now it is not 'guna,' but an aggregate of *three gunas* is said to form 'Prākṛiti' by equipoise, in one system; and 'Ignorance' by a sum-total, in another. This 'Ignorance' therefore cannot be a synonym of 'guna,' since a sum-total of three is necessary to constitute it. Again (p. 34) 'Ignorance' is said to be 'bhava-rūpa,' or in the *shape of entity*; can 'entity' be predicated of 'guna' also? If the dogma of the *Triguna* as 'pure cognition, lively emotion, and inertness,' (p. 35) be philosophically orthodox, why reject their *equipoise* in the shape of an unintelligent 'Prākṛiti,' and accept their *sum-total* in the shape of 'Ignorance,' as the creator of the world? If the *three qualities* are not eternal; and if they did not give existence to Ignorance, and Ignorance to the world; they are not those of the Vedánta; and Dr. Ballantyne's defence would be that of a shadow. Hence we cannot accept the technical sense proposed for the term 'guna.' Dr. Ballantyne has employed the word 'material' as an equivalent to the technical sense which he proposes of 'guna.' In Appendix A he attempts to shew that there is no word for our 'matter' in Sanscrit. On this subject we wish, in passing, to propose two questions for the consideration of the learned Doctor. Supposing our word 'substance' were substituted for the Sanscrit terms mentioned in that article—as by common usage, the word *substance* is applied to a spirit as well as to a lump of clay—would it be conclusive to infer, that *substance* is not a term expressive of what we are pleased to call 'matter?' If the Sanscrit has no term for, 'matter' as distinct from 'soul' or 'spirit,' then what is the distinction between the nine eternal atoms of the Nyāya; and the *Prākṛiti* of the Sāṅkhya, and their *Puruṣa*? Dr. Ballantyne ought surely to

give some specific names for those two distinct substances; or admit that Hindu analysis is deplorably defective.

- The truth of Position 3rd depends upon the view taken of the Vedāntic analysis of man. If Dr. Ballantyne accepts the definition of man furnished by the Upanishads, and recapitulated in the Vedānta Sār; then indeed Vedāntic assertions cannot be deemed 'extravagant' by him. Still we suppose the talented, laborious, and excellent missionary, Dr. Duff—for to him we take the allusion to be made in the phrase, 'a zealous writer against Vedāntism,' (p. 43.)—may be allowed the liberty of forming his own opinion on the subject. But if the atomic substance called *minu*, as being an 'organ,' a distinct substance from soul; a creator of understanding; of self-consciousness, &c. is a fiction, and has no real existence in the constitution, of man; then is the Vedāntic system founded upon an imaginary foundation, and is 'extravagant' therefore, root and branch. Does Dr. Ballantyne accept the Ontology and Cosmology of the Vedānta Sār? Are those of the Bible and of
- Christendom to be tested by the speculations in that treatise? Is it a duty incumbent upon the disciple of the Bible to believe that the world in the abstract should be conceived to be Ignorance—Ignorance which itself has no absolute existence, but which consists of the totality of three qualities—Ignorance which in its totality is the causal body of God; and in its variety, forms the bodies of individual men; Ignorance which gives existence to the *Tuṃdātras* or five subtle elements, from which it produces intellect, mind, self-consciousness, the five sheathed man, and so forth? No doubt readers of the Bible will deem these doctrines *new*. But if they are true, it is a duty to believe them; and if it is a duty, Dr. Ballantyne should put forth more of his strength to prove and recommend them than he has done in these pages. We write not these lines in a cavilling spirit. Very far from it. We write them with deep grief, under an impression that in this defence of Vedāntism, the Truth suffers wrong at the hands of a friend who thus strengthens against her, the hands of a class of men, the most irreverent and captious towards all that is True and Holy and Great.
- We are not quite sure, that we understand the sense given to the word 'attribute' in Position 6th. Is it the substance of a thing, or something else attributed to the substance? If 'attribute' denotes the substantial being, as distinguished from the qualities, properties, or manifested powers, which usually serve as the marks (*lakshana*) of substance; and as the '*guṇas*' or 'cords' by means of which a substance becomes known to others; then is such an 'attribute' the same as the *Brahma* of the

Vedánta—a thing without a mark, utterly unknown, utterly unknowable, and, as far as man is concerned, a perfect nonentity. This is indeed the Vedantic teaching of Brahma. But if the word 'attribute' is used to denote a power or quality belonging to a substantial being, by means of which it becomes manifested to others,—its usual acceptation—then has Vedántic Brahma no such attribute, and the fact of 'extravagance' in expression is established. The Brahma of the popular *Upanishads*, the *Saririk Sutra*, and the *Vedánta Sar*, is said to be devoid of any such attributes. It is 'sheer existence, sheer thought.' If Dr. Ballantyne supposes that 'a Christian,' should accept the theories of the Vedántin and Berkeley in disproof of the 'unknown quiddity'—the substratum of the external world—how will he meet the theories of the Sankhyas and Hume in disproof of the substratum of spirit—and especially of the quality-less Brahma of the Vedánta?

It seems to be a great mistake and a great injustice to introduce the venerable Bishop of Cloyne into Vedántin fraternity. The Italian Giordano Bruno, the Jew Spinoza, the German Schelling, and even the Welsh-Breton Des Cartes could fraternize with much greater facility. Bruno, Spinoza, and Schelling would very nearly agree with the Vedántin as to the *fact* of the relations of creator and creation; though as to the *means* and *mode* of that relation, they would very greatly differ—the Hindu scheme being incomplete. The scheme of the Ontology of the Vedánta Sar, we take to be this:—

SCHEME OF ONTOLOGY.

- I. Vastu=Joy-thought=Brahma. A thing—Substance of all.
- II. The Triguna=Material of the phenomenal. (How the Triguna were originated; and how related to Vastu, is not explained. It is said in the Upanishad that *Vastu*=Brahma, is incapable of sustaining relations; and has none.) From the Totality of the Triguna arose:—
- III. Ignorance=Māya. Which envelopes the 'Ego,' and projects the 'non-Ego.' (Whence came the 'Ego' is not explained. But to this 'Aham'='Ego' it is said that neither 'Ego' nor 'non-Ego' could exist, were it not for 'Ignorance.' The theory seems confused. In the Vedánta Sar it appears to stand thus: *Ajñāna* found an 'Ego,' (Aham) enveloped it, and gave it a conceit of individual existence. And also, there being no 'non-Ego,' *Ajñāna* gave the 'Ego' a notion that there was.)

Against this, at a great distance from it, as regards exactness of treatment, might be given Schelling's theory of Identity

For convenience's sake Tennemann's synopsis in Morell's translation is furnished :—

SCHELLING'S SCHEME OF ONTOLOGY.

I. The absolute—the universe in its original form—The deity manifested in

II. Nature (the absolute in its secondary form) as Relative and Real—as Relative and Ideal; according to the following gradations :

Weight—Matter.
Light—Motion,
Organic structure—Life.

Truth—Science.
Goodness—Religion.
Beauty—Art.

Above these gradations, and independent of them, are arranged :

Man (as a Microcosm).
The system of the world (the external universe).

The State.
History.

The similarity of the principle will be discovered at once. It should be observed, however, that Schelling commences with *Das Absolute*, which admits of the predicate Relative; but *Vastu* and *Brahma* admit of no predicates. The German's superiority in treatment is very obvious. The Hindus are far inferior to the more imaginative Bruno in their method of development. The Hindu begins by begging the question, he takes for granted that *Vastu* is the substance of the world; and displays all his powers in the attempt to answer the question, 'How came the infinite, unconditioned Thing, to appear finite?' The individual soul, admitting the limits of its capacities, replies, 'I don't know.' And then making that 'Ignorance' the means of his rescue, he undertakes to explain the whole. According to the theory, the *Vastu* never moves, never wills, never acts. The dogma of the *Triguna* does not appear to be indigenous in the Vedant System. It appears there as an exotic taken up in its crude state, and left undefined and unexplained. Practically considered 'Ignorance' differs very little from 'Prakriti.' Both are unintelligent. Both create a phenomenal world; one a world of Illusions, the other a world of Qualities.

Here we close. The 'partial exposition of Christian doctrine' must be left for the present. We trust that we have succeeded, in some measure, in shewing, that the moral malady of the Hindus has not been so thoroughly examined and laid open in these Essays, as might be desired. The Sanscrit version of Dr. Ballantyne, as regards language, is worthy of his scholarship. All Christendom owes him gratitude for what he has done. We doubt whether there are half-a-dozen Christians on earth, who could dress Christian sentiments in a Sanscrit so chaste, idiomatic, and pure. Though we have been forced to differ from the

learned Doctor on some points; yet we hold his labours in high esteem; and expect much more from his able pen, in aid of the efforts to make Christianity known to the Hindus. There are two points of Christian doctrine, however, of such vital importance, that we regret much Dr. Ballantyne did not enlarge a little more upon them in this Essay. The innate moral depravity of our race and the atonement of Christ. Until the nature and extent of the moral malady are thoroughly known and felt, indifference to the physician and the remedy must prevail. The atonement of Christ has always been the great stumbling block, and the great remedy of the human species. It is the keystone of human hopes; and panacea for human afflictions.

In the atonement alone can our rebellious race behold

‘ Truth, love, and mercy in triumph descending,
And nature all glowing in Eden’s first bloom;
On the cold cheek of death smiles and roses are blending,
And beauty immortal awakes from the tomb.’

Man not only reasons; but also feels. Midway between Reason and Feeling—between the understanding and the heart, between faith and love, is the true place of True Religion. To treat religion—and particularly the Christian religion,—as a metaphysical speculation, is a great injustice towards the God of compassion and love who revealed it; and a great wrong towards the sin-stricken and bewildered man who is in need of it. The religion of the heart only can gain the affections of the Hindu, console, and save them.

Every Hindu, every day that he lives, sees and feels the blighting influences of innate and of actual depravity. He is fully aware that the intellect, the affections, the emotions and the passions of his soul, have fallen into a state of disorder and confusion; that somehow or other, there has been an upsetting of all the furniture of his spiritual nature. Christianity is the only religion among men, that can explain to him the origin, the mode, and the extent of this moral disorder which has befallen his relation with his Maker, Ruler, and Judge. And we regret exceedingly to observe that the Essay contains not a single ‘Aphorism,’ to explain to the Hindu, how the Bible accounts for, dissects, and explains the diseased state of his moral and spiritual nature.

The doctrine of the Atonement also, has not obtained the prominence which its importance demands and deserves. It has been compressed into a single Aphorism, of just two pages, in a *fourth Book*, ‘Of the mysterious points in Christianity,’ preceded by an Aphorism upon the ‘Rule of Excluded Middle.’ This remark proceeds not from a light or censorious spirit, refer-

ring to an apparent incongruity—it proceeds from a spirit quite the reverse. Our heart bleeds. A hundred and fifty millions of deluded men are present before our mind. Those men look up to their few learned teachers, with deep-felt reverence and blind confidence. Here is an Essay written expressly for those teachers; and through them for the millions; having for its object to make known the only remedy provided by a merciful Creator, for maladies which all of them feel, and none of them can cure—to explain to them the conditions of the *new* proclamation of peace and pardon to our rebellious race. We feel, thus deeply because we fear, lest that Essay be too metaphysical, and too brief, to enable its readers to understand the dangerous nature of their maladies, the heinousness of the guilt of their wilful rebellion, and the adaptation and efficacy of the remedy offered them in the Bible. In any future editions of this Essay; and in any future productions from the same able pen for the learned Hindu, we sincerely trust that Jesus Christ shall occupy a far more prominent place.

ART. V.—*Lord Canning's Speech at the opening of the Rajmahal Railway.*

LAST September, the Ganges at Rajmahal was tapped by the Railway.* Henceforth neither passengers nor costly goods will be subject to the freaks of the Nuddea Rivers. The apex of the Delta has been touched by the Iron Horse, and a life and activity will, in consequence, be given to the neighbourhood of Rajmahal, such as has not been known there since Gaur the city of one hundred kings ceased to be the metropolis of Bengal and Behar, and for which its position at the top of the Delta, admirably adapted it.

But it is not merely in connection with Rajmahal and its hills, once the scenes of a bustling activity and of a numerous population, that this opening is to be viewed with interest. The Railway will bring a tide of trade and social life into those solitudes of Behar, once the seat of an Empire over which the great Asoka stretched his rule. The traveller, who, in a miserable, expensive palki, tries to penetrate the fastnesses south of Bhagulpur, finds before him, in every direction, the wrecks and mouldering remains of former greatness. Buddhism has left indelible traces of itself on basalt images, in caves and on the rocks of Rajgriha and Monghyr, while the mountain eyries of the highland Chiefs of Rajmahal shew what power the feudal system exercised, in the days of Behar's greatness. What will it be when the whole country from Rajmahal to Benares becomes pervious to the merchant, the miner, the missionary, the schoolmaster and even the indolent Bengali babu?

As an instrument for awakening an interest in Behar's mental, religious and social improvement, the railway will be of great value. The Behar people have, ever since Buddhist days, been cut off from mental light and intercourse with foreigners: the Moguls did little for Behar; its fine population were never appealed to on moral or intellectual topics, since the days that Sakyee Muni made the groves of Gaya echo with Buddhist mottos. We quote on this subject the excellent remarks of Lord Canning, made at the opening of the Rajmahal Railway.

* Not far from the spot where according to Hindu myth, Kapil Muni, disturbed by it in his devotions, swallowed the whole river:—this myth probably referred to that change in its bed, that sent the main stream in an Easterly direction, while formerly it flowed down by Nuddea.

' We began this day's journey at a spot washed by the tides of the Bay of Bengal, and within a stone's throw of the anchorage of some of the noblest ships, which, to the furtherance of commerce and all its attendant blessings, the skill and enterprise of our fellow-country-men have launched upon the ocean. We have ended it in an inland district, 200 miles off, where not only are the uses of the great highway of nations uncared for and unknown, but where the very name of the "black water" is a word of mystery and terror. We began our journey at the chief seat of Western trade and civilization on this side of the globe, the head quarters of England's power in Asia, and we have closed it almost under the walls of the ancient capital of Bengal and Behar—the city of Gour—which, little more than two centuries ago, was not surpassed by any in India, for its busy population and magnificence, but which now lies a mass of tangled ruins and rank forest, tenanted by wild beasts, reeking with fever, and void not only of human industry, but of human life. In travelling between these two points,—points of such striking contrast—we have passed through a country teeming with population and covered thick with all that is necessary to the sustenance of man. We have skirted a district abounding in mineral wealth, and already eagerly seizing the opportunity, as yet imperfectly afforded to it, of pouring this wealth into the great centre of activity in Calcutta. We have been carried through the wild country of the Sonthals, one of the rudest and wildest races of India, but a race not insensible to kindly government, and who, if their hills and jungles had been as accessible five years ago as they are now, would have been at once checked in a purposeless rebellion. Lastly, we find ourselves standing on the bank of the great Ganges, at that point at which it is in the interests of Commerce, that the tedious and uncertain navigation of its lower waters should be exchanged for a short and secure land carriage.'

The Rajmahal Railway, like the Mutla Line, its future southern extension, has been driven through a land of tigers and cholera; on both lines the laborers have had to battle with the deadly miasma of jungles, the growth of centuries;—and in some instances have been carried off, in broad daylight, by wild beasts, whose lairs, undisturbed for ages have been intruded on by the stranger with his iron road. Three centuries ago there was a dense population near the Rajmahal hills, as there was then in the Sunderbunds. In the centre of the Santal Country are to be found now the remains of large tanks and palaces, erected before the Santal migrated into it, about sixty years ago.

In a similar way, in North Tirhut, the ruins of the once mighty cities of Janakpu and Simrun, 14 miles in circumference, remain amid what are now the haunts of tigers and boars, rife with malaria. It was the long struggle between Hindus and Moslem that reduced this land to a terai or deadly jungle. Some similar catastrophe must have taken place in the Rajmahal hills.

One great advantage we look forward to from the railway is, that it will leave those Europeans without excuse, who fancy that, because they know Calcutta or one of the Presidency towns, they are therefore competent to give an opinion on India, or even on Bengal. Even eight hours by this Railway will tell them not to judge Behar men by the Bengali standard; they will see there a different race of men. In a few years a Calcutta

cockney, who has never travelled beyond Chandernagore, will be a curiosity fit for the British Museum. The railway will also check that tendency to centralization which looms so fearfully in the future horizon of India. Federalism, which combines local action with a centralizing supervision, is what we want, and the railway will, in one respect, greatly favour the principle of 'unity amid diversity.' As the stream of the Ganges, like that of the Nile, and other great rivers, has been the diffuser of civilization along its banks, so is the railway likely to prove a line of light through mofussil darkness, enabling the merchant, the educator, and the missionary to gain access to 'the highways and hedges' of the Santal and other districts.

Holidays will be rendered doubly valuable by the Railway, as Lord Canning remarked in his Rajmahal Speech :

'The vast distances to be traversed by all whom business or pleasure puts in motion, the fierce climate which for so many hours of the day makes exertion and exposure eminently hazardous, and the fact that a life of bodily activity or mental toil in India is one of daily risk—all conspire to render any alleviation of labor, and any new facilities for relaxation, a boon of inestimable value to every class, whether soldier or civilian, independent gentleman, or servant of the State.'

'To British Science and British Enterprise shall be committed in India the poble task of bringing security, comfort, and comparative wealth within the reach of races as yet ignorant of these; of extending the field of profitable industry to them; of supplying the wants of some by the superfluities of others; of enhancing prosperity where it exists, and of reviving it where it has drooped and decayed; of promoting fellowship between men, and of bringing light into dark places.'

The railway will increase country tastes and particularly favor the study of geology and botany, so neglected in this country. The class of natives will gradually become rare, who, like a Bengali habu some time ago, could tell a Geological Surveyor he had seen many hills near Calcutta; when asked, where? he said,—the embankments of the tanks.

Punctuality, so wanting in our native friends, will be taught more effectively by the rail than by the schoolmaster,—the train waits for no one, as many a native has already found to his cost.

To shew the gradually increasing influence of this line, we give the following tables—which tell their own story. They show how the masses appreciate the railway.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

The numbers conveyed per mile were in

1854-55.....	2,963
1855-56.....	6,983
1856-57.....	8,377
1857-58.....	9,120
1858-59.....	9,661

Numbers conveyed of each Class per mile.

YEAR ENDING.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
30th June 1855.	77·6	375·5	2,530·9
" 1856.	100·4	442·7	6,389·5
" 1857.	110·8	432·2	7,834·3
" 1858.	122·0	427·8	8,562·8
" 1859.	106·3	403·5	9,151·5

Receipts from each Class.

YEAR ENDING.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total.	Average Receipts per mile.
30th June 1855.	£ 1,890	£ 2,949	£ 18,658	£ 23,497	£ 194·8
" 1856.	2,634	3,801	28,355	43,790	353·6
" 1857.	3,735	4,811	45,938	54,484	450·2
" 1858.	5,132	4,937	47,787	58,856	486·4
" 1859.	5,814	5,169	62,964	73,947	520·8

Passengers conveyed by the East Indian Railway.

YEAR ENDING.	Miles open.	NUMBER OF PASSENGERS.			Total.
		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	
31st May 1855.	121	9,302	43,896	330,546	383,744
30th June 1856.	121	12,049	53,674	773,135	838,858
" " 1857.	121	13,409	52,301	947,958	1,013,668
" " 1858.	121	14,763	51,765	1,037,106	1,103,634
" " 1859.	142	15,106	57,309	1,189,517*	1,271,932
(24 Miles, opened 1st October, 1858.)					

* It was often said that caste, and native prejudice would prevent the mass of natives availing themselves of the rail; but in India, as elsewhere the common people have more common sense than they get credit for—cheap fares, and comparative freedom from railway accidents, decided the question.

114 RAJMAHAL, ITS RAILWAY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Receipts from Passengers and Goods, on the East Indian Railway, with working expenses.

YEAR ENDING.	Passengers.	Miscellaneous.	Goods.	Total.	Working Expenses.	Net Profits.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
30th June 1855.	23,487	1,924	6,037	31,453	20,822	10,631
" 1856.	43,790	4,618	33,771	82,178	33,765	48,413
" 1857.	54,484	6,598	52,564	113,646	44,169	69,484
" 1858.	58,856	14,572	76,804	150,232	62,507	87,725
" 1859.	73,947	12,751	1,18,889	205,587	96,184	109,403

Another social point connected with the Railway relates to treatment of the natives working on it. On this we quote from Lord Canning's speech at Rajmahal, where having thanked the Company's officers for the treatment of their natives, he observed.

'Their treatment and management of the population with whom they have been brought into daily contact has been worthy of all praise. I speak from personal knowledge on this point. During three years, until the time when the chief Governmental superintendence of its affairs was committed to the able and watchful care of my honorable friend the Lieutenant Governor, the E. I. Railway was directly under the control of the Governor General in Council; and I cannot call to mind that in that time a single instance occurred of coercion or oppression on the part of the officers of the Company, or of any want of cordiality and good will between the employers and their native servants, or laborers. I can remember no case of harsh dealing, or inconsiderateness of any kind. Both parties soon understood each other, and there has, so far as I know, been no interruption of that good understanding.'

'This, let me say it, is no slight praise. The natives of Bengal, of whom, in one way and another not less than 118,000 are daily working on this Railway, are, in this part of the province, a timid suspicious people,—easily taking alarm at novelties,—averse to interference with their usages, unused to steady labor, fickle, and too often crooked in their ways. There are however, a few painful exceptions, chiefly with regard to contractors. Mr. Turnbull remarks of the contractors of the Patna division. "The railway works were in very bad odour among the natives, whose dealings with the late contractors left no favorable impressions on their minds."

He then made the following remarks: which deserve to be written in letters of gold,

'Gentlemen, it is of no use to deny or conceal it, for it is known to all the world, we Englishmen with all our great national characteristics, are not, as a people, conciliatory or attractive. God forbid that any of us should feel ashamed of his national character, or wish it to be other than it is. But none amongst us will deny that the very virtues of that character are not seldom exaggerated into faults. We are powerful in body and mind, and we are proud of that power. We are self-reliant, and justly so, and we like to shew our self-reliance. We are conscious of our own high purposes, and enlightenment, and we are apt to look down upon those, whose motives we believe to be less worthy than our own, or whom we regard as debased in ignorance, and we do not care to conceal our feelings. These failings are not inconsistent with our national greatness. In the days of slavery, Englishmen were amongst the hardest task-masters that the

African ever had; but England did not hesitate to spend her gold and her blood lavishly for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and we poured out our twenty millions like water, when we found that it was the only means by which to rid ourselves of the curse of slavery.'

'But, Gentlemen, no people, whatever their condition, will patiently bear to be treated by their rulers as though they were less than men, less rational, less capable of right feeling than those who rule them. If we attempt, individually or collectively, to do this, if we neglect to win the heart of those over whom Providence has placed us, if instead of seeking to inspire them with confidence, we take for our maxim that the people of India should be governed as a conquered people—which, as I understand it, means that they should be governed by sheer force,—if in our pride or impatience we refuse to show forbearance and indulgence to the weaknesses and shortcomings which attend us, we shall not worthily represent England in the great work which lies before her, and we shall assuredly fail to accomplish it.'

We give in a tabular statement the number of natives employed, on the Railway and their respective localities. Such a number of men, with such wages, must have had a considerable effect on the labour market of Bengal.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

BENGAL DIVISION.

Statement of daily average of work-people employed on the construction of the several Divisions of the line of Railway, for the twelve months, from the 31st May, 1859 to 31st May, 1860.

Names of Divisions or Districts.	Excavators.	Brickmakers.	Bricklayers.	Labourers.	Carpenters.	Sawyers.	Blacksmiths.	Total.
	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.
South Birbhum,	755	376	312	9,070	417	69	498	11,487
North Birbhum,	3,185	462	306	4,480	118	67	14	8,603
South Rajmahal,	4,773	153	65	5,275	94	25	22	10,407
Centre Rajmahal,	4,387	none	260	4,508	327	101	89	13,872
North Rajmahal,	4,853	286	483	6,903	334	18	81	12,958
Pirpointi,	3,670	655	180	5,201	115	47	30	9,898
Bhagulpur,	482	262	190	5,941	70	15	24	4,984
Jhangirah,	2,121	403	177	2,014	26	17	13	4,771
Monghyr,	1,322	485	311	4,964	285	60	324	7,751
Kiul,	663	263	106	2,763	142	39	60	4,039
Hallohnr,	2,122	903	276	4,336	137	92	84	7,950
Bar,	2,144	920	235	3,672	129	53	13	7,159
Patna,	905	103	125	3,045	129	15	26	4,341
Soane District,	2,962	874	548	4,336	84	35	33	8,772
Soane Bridge,	72	69	1,404	204	38	81	32	4,990
Total,	38,316	6,207	5,068	64,692	2,431	734	1,343	118,791

(Signed) GEORGE TURNBULL,

26th September, 1860.

We give further Tables at page 141.

The trunk line is now *viâ* Rajmahal, which will answer as far as Monghyr, and so onwards as the loop line, but we believe the direct communication with the N. W. P. will ultimately be by the Barrakur to Patna, thus saving 100 miles, and opening out the Cornwall, as well as the Switzerland of Bengal to the philanthropist, and the merchant. Already an extension is being made to the Barrakur from Ranigunj: it will then probably pass by the Kuhurbali Coal Fields, and through the Gobindpur Valley, which is the exit from the high table land of Ramghur to the fertile plains of Behar and so on to Patna. The rail will create a wide extent of traffic, as has been shewn by the opening at Bhedea and elsewhere.*

In addition to the Ranigunj line being likely to be the main one, it will lead to *Parasnath*, and on the completion of the present extension line to the Barrakur, a drive of 54 miles only will lead to the top of *Parasnath*, or by the future main line from the Barrakur to Patna, which will land the traveller at the Kuhurbali Coal Fields, with the adjacent copper mines, only 20 miles distant from *Parasnath*.

* The hill scenery beyond the Barrakur extending to *Parasnath* and the Dunwa pass will be most refreshing to the person 'long in populous cities 'pent.'—Even now, one can leave Calcutta by the mail train at night and breakfast in the morning at the top of *Parasnath*.

Major Sherwill, so well known for the valuable Statistical information he has furnished the public regarding Bhagulpur, Monghyr, Malda, and the Sunderbunds, has lately published a paper on the subject of a direct line in which he gives the following arguments in its favor—Patna and the N. W. P. would be 300 instead of 400 miles from Calcutta—Coal from Kuhurbali could be laid down at Patna, for the same price as Ranigunj Coal is sold in Calcutta—the fertility of the country between Gobindpur Valley and the Ganges produces heavy crops from a soil that has not been manured for 2000 years—even the roads are ploughed up in the wet season to give a crop—the exports are forwarded only by pack-bullocks, dilatory and expensive, to the Ganges, where the produce is sent by boats to Calcutta. Zemindars and exporters could go by train to Calcutta, instead of trusting dishonest brokers and grain-dealers who fleece them. Close to the hills is much waste land not cultivated, because the exports would hardly pay its carriage to the Ganges. The Zemindars of Behar are rich, and food is cheap.—Pergunnah Surrai, Nurlut, Behar, along the proposed lines are the chief places which furnish Rice, Wheat, Barley, Gram, Oil-seeds, Sugar, Tobacco, Turmeric, Mace, Iron, Hides, Gums, Dye Stuffs, Tassar, Carpets, Stone-plates, Ochre.—100,000 Pilgrims from the N. W. P. and Gya pass along this line, and in the cold weather, taking the route to Deoghur and Juggernaith, returning at the close of the cold season; at Kurukdehe, the stream of pilgrims divides; the one proceeding south to the *Parasnath*, the other east to Deoghur; they again unite near Burdwan. The train would take up the *Parasnath* pilgrims at Nawadah, and convey them to Kuhurbali, and after visiting *Parasnath* would take them to Ranigunj. The pilgrims going to Deoghur would be conveyed also from Nawadah to Kurukdehe 50 miles.—The Brahmins do not object to pilgrims travelling by rail as they arrive much richer and better able to offer a large present to the Brahmins. The Gobindpur Valley is now much dreaded by pilgrims who on their passage keep watch and ward all night long to prevent the attacks of tigers and thieves. Immense numbers of local pilgrims stream towards the

The construction of the Railway itself presents many objects of interest—rails, the difficulty of their supply—sleepers, whether more lasting of iron or of wood; the latter how best prepared—fencing, the most effectual kind—bridges, their well foundations, their piers, their arches, their girders—ballast, the various descriptions, artificial and natural—the beds of rivers, if changed for railway bridges, how far likely to be permanent—contractors, their failures and the causes—the epidemics and mortality among the coolies, how far avoidable. But our object in this article is rather to interest our readers in the moral and social aspects presented by the extension of the railway, enlarging the views of Europeans and Natives, lessening the influence of caste, and increasing the facilities of travelling, and so making more accessible the various places of historical interest which lie near the line.

As the historical associations on the Railway line between Calcutta and Ranigunj, connected with the French at Chander-nagor, the Dutch at Chinsura, and the Portuguese at Hugly, have been noticed in Cone's Railway Guide, we will begin with the Kanai or Burdwan junction, which will eventually supersede Burdwan as an engine-changing station, connecting the Ranigunj station with the main line by a loop line, and confine our remarks to places between that and Rajmahal, where the line ends at present. Our space is limited, consequently our notices must be brief; but ample information may be found in old histories. We notice places in the order in which they lie, starting from Burdwan.

We enter the Birbhum District across the Aji. The Aji which rises near Monghyr, separates Birbhum from the Burdwan District, which receives along with Tirthut, the name of the garden of Bengal. It is navigable only for a few weeks in the rains. Coal mines are met close to its banks. This river receives a number of tributaries: it flows into the Hugly near Cutwa, memorable for Clive's Victory of Plassey. We cross the Aji river by a bridge 1,800 feet long, over arches of 50 feet span each. We leave behind the Burdwan District, and enter the Birbhum Zillah, the Bengal Highlands. A Scotchman would smile at these being called Highlands, but they are such to a Calcutta man. These hills were once noted for Mahratta raids, but will hereafter, we trust, be associated with iron and copper

Rajgir Hills, the reputed birth place of Gautama: these are 12 miles south-west of Behar city, close to the proposed line and have 12 hot and 4 cold springs. Commerce in Asiatic countries generally follows the same road as that pursued by pilgrims. The Behar people are fond of travelling, having numerous shrines or places of local veneration in their district.

foundries, and the development of extensive mineral resources. Birbhum was once a little Belgium, an arena for Mahratta and Moslem to exhibit their prowess in, though the former generally adopted the Parthian system of warfare, fighting and retreating. As late as A. D. 1814, the roads were so infested with robbers, that pilgrims could not pass through Deogur on the way from Benares to Jagannath—but by giving the robbers lands, on condition of keeping the roads clear, the robberies were put down. The oldest town in Birbhum is *Nagore*, the residence of a Musalman Raja; it has an entrenchment thrown up against the Mahrattas, from twelve to eighteen feet high, which extends round the town for the distance of thirty two miles. *Molisser* on the road from Suri to Murshidabad is surrounded by eighty tanks;—in this Zillah, tanks for irrigation are very common. It is very important for these districts that there are a number of jhils, which serve as natural drainage basins in the freshes, and prevent the floods from devastating the country. Artificial basins, with a similar view, are now being formed near the Mississippi. *Baklesur* is noted for its hot-springs and cheating^o Brahmans. *Baidanath* is a famous place of pilgrimage for Hindus from all parts of India, but especially from Scinde and Rajputana; they come in February. Its temple is said to have been built by a Chol Raja from Mysore, who had invaded the country.

Surul, the first station North of the Aji, has largely increased since the Railway staff settled here. The great mortality in certain parts of the South Birbhum District, has led to various sanitary improvements in Surul:—it has a dispensary and hospital; near Surul are the remains of the old commercial residency, retaining with its twenty five rooms, the relics of the old palatial style and mode of living, when the Residents were the princes of the land. A road, metalled and bridged, leads from the Surul station to Ilambazar noted for its elegant lac ornaments made by only two men. It is on the Damuda, which is there a quarter of a mile wide. The country to the West is described as an extensive coal field, having also plenty of iron.—*Cutwa* is thirty one miles distant from Surul.

The next place of importance is *Synthea*: the Bridge is 1,500 feet long; in the dry season it is over a wilderness of sand. Water is procured by digging in the sands of this river. The bed of the More river here is in places quite black with magnetic iron dust, which clings in clusters to the magnet. The lover of Geology may see to the north of the village a high gravel bank, composed of pink quartz, with pieces of quartz felspar, and pisiform iron ore intermixed. The Harpah or bore in

this river at the first fall of rain is a curious sight. A journey of an hour and three quarters from Synthea takes the traveller to the Birbhum Iron works of Messrs Mackey & Co.: the first pig iron manufactured in Bengal upon the English principle, was smelted here in January 1856; two tons of iron are produced daily, and three European smelters are employed. The district is rich in coals, and iron; even the ballast laid along the line at Synthea gives 15 per cent. of iron. A metalled road, eight miles long, leads from Synthea to Suri, the capital of Birbhum.

A road leads from Synthea to Jammakundi, a large town with many substantial buildings and temples, sixteen miles S. W. of Berhampore. Beyond this is Rangamatti, the site of an extensive city, when the Ganges, then four miles wide, flowed by it. The Western boundary of the river may be still distinctly traced by a bank of stiff clay, gravel, and nodular limestone, about fifteen feet high, which runs along as far as Rajmahal.

Rampur Hat is a changing station of the Railway. The house of the Resident Engineer, with its nice garden in front, is a pleasant sight. This place was in great danger during the last Santal insurrection, and some hard fighting took place near it. We trust the authorities have learnt the lesson, that the school-master is, in the long run, cheaper than the soldier. This insurrection, which might have been easily prevented, had the officials redressed the evils of the Mahajan system *in time*, cost the Government many lacs. Similarly the expenditure against the Kukis, a few months ago, cost the State one lac of rupees. The Santal leaders, were simple ryots, and their allies were cowherds, oilmen and blacksmiths.

Nalhati is the first station in the Murshidabad District, now so famous for its mulberry cultivation. A road leads from this via Jeaganj, a large mercantile emporium, to the city of Murshidabad, thirty five miles distant, and may ultimately form a branch line of the railway. Whoever wishes to study the morals and manners of a Moslem Court during the last century, must peruse the pages of the *Seir Mutakherin*, where the state of things previous to the English conquest is unfolded—the name of Ali Verdy Khan is the one redeeming feature in the landscape. The voice of revels is now hushed in Murshidabad—its Moslem nobles left it when the capital was removed. But the ruins of Gysabad near it, not far from the Nalhati road, remind us with its Pāli inscriptions, of the day when Buddhism ruled the country instead of the Crescent. Captain J. E. Gastrell, in his Statistical Report of Murshidabad, states of this place, ‘Moorshe-dabad, commonly called by the natives Maksoodabad, is seven

'miles South of Jeeagunge, on the Bhagiruttee. There are no defined limits to it as a city, nor is there any part known specially by the above names; it appears to be a name given to an indiscriminate mass of temples, mosques, handsome pucca houses, gardens, walled enclosures, huts, hovels and tangled jungle containing the ruins of many edifices that have sprung up, and decayed, around the residences of the former and present Nawabs Nazim of Moorsshedabad.'

Murshidabad calls up many historical associations, numerous enough to have an article to itself in this Review. It is full of the past;—the days of Jagat Set, the Rothschild of Bengal,—of Ali Verdy its Akbar,—of Suraja Daula, of the Aurungzebe type. The objects worth seeing now are the Palace, the tombs of Ali Verdy, and of Suraja Daula, the ruins of the Residency, of the Dutch factory at Kalkapur, and the ivory carvings of Murshidabad. For an account of these consult Captain Gastrell's Geographical Report of the Murshidabad District, and the Seir Mutakherin.

Pulsa is on the Bansli one of those hill streams which rise to such an enormous height after a heavy flood. Jungipur on the Bhagirathi is only sixteen miles from Pulsa. Near Pulsa is the Nobinger Jhil a great haunt for tigers, who lurk in grass that grows twenty feet high: this jhil was probably the old bed of the Ganges.

Pakour is the first Station we meet with in the Santal country. It is the residence of one of the Santal Deputy Commissioners. There is a Martello tower here thirty feet high and twenty feet in diameter, loopholed for musketry, with space on the top for one or two light guns. It was built in 1856 for the protection of the railway officers, and railway bungalows, when the latter were rebuilt after the Santal insurrection of 1856. This tower afforded protection against a company of mutinous sepoys in 1858. From the tower a fine view is to be had of the Rajmahal hills, and Jungipur. Pakour contains 1,400 houses, and is the residence of a Raja. A road is being made from Pakour to Suti thirteen and a half miles, at the junction of the Bhagirathi and Ganges rivers which will open out an important place of trade. Within sixteen miles of Suti is the Mahananda river, the great artery of the Malda District, and forming the boundary between Dinajpur and Rungpur. Malda is situated on it, and the ruins of Gaur are within a few miles of it; near it is Bogwangola, on the banks of the Ganges, occupied chiefly by sheds for the accommodation of the grain merchants who resort to the fair there: it is therefore more of an encampment than a town, the Ganges having repeatedly swept the place away. A road from Malda to Jungipur will shortly be finished. *Geria* five miles N.

E. of Jungipur, famous for its silk filatures, is memorable as the place where Major Adams, at the head of 800 English and 2000 Sipahis, defeated, in a hard fought battle, Mir Kassim's Troops in August 1768. Patna at that time was lost to the English.

A little beyond Pakour we cross the *Bansli* River by a bridge with 8 openings, 60 feet wide, 35 feet above the river's level; a mile to the west on its banks is Mohespur, where in 1855, a body of 8,000 Santals were defeated by a detachment of Sepoys, and stripped of the plunder they had gained at Pakour.

The cuttings are through basalt and gravel to a depth of 18 feet. The line from the More to Rajmahal was finished by the Railway Company, who in one year did as much work as the Contractors did in three.

Bahawa is the nearest station to Burheit the capital of the Santal pergunnahs, accessible by a carriage road leading through a very pretty country, amid the windings of the Gomani valley. Near Burheit a battle was fought by the English with the Santals, which ended in the capture of their leaders Sidu and Kana, who believed themselves to be inspired by a god. It is lamentable to say, that for much of the interest now taken in the Santals we are indebted to fear; when in 1855 the Santal insurrection so suddenly and unexpectedly blazed forth, and it was ascertained that these simple people were driven to insurrection through oppressions unredressed, the cry was raised what has the Christian world done to enlighten them? Half the population to the east of Bahawa belong to the Vaishnah sect.

The works in the Gomani valley were very expensive, owing to the sickness of the coolies, consequent on the unhealthiness of the country. On the left of Bahawa lies the *Damini Koh*, distinguished for its fine scenery; but the hills have been much stripped of trees, in order to supply charcoal to the iron smelters of Birbhum. Coal mines are in various parts here very useful for brick-making on the railway, and in affording employment to the Santals.

The subject of irrigation is one of great consequence to the Damini Koh districts: though what Sir A. Cotton effected at Rajmundry may be impossible on the Ganges.* Sir A. Cotton shews that a revenue of £ 8,000,000 sterling might be raised from works of irrigation; the example of the sandy desert of

* At Rajmundry, he threw a weir 4 miles across the river, fronding it with 1,500 miles of channels to irrigate 700,000 acres. It soon doubled the revenue, raised the agricultural exports ten fold, and increased the annual number of boats in the canal from 700 the first year to 18,000 the last year.

the Cavery, rendered most fertile by irrigation, will ever remain as Col. Cotton's *monumentum ære perennius*.

Uda Nulla Pass, seen in the distance between the river and a spur of the hills, reminds us of the progress of British power; here, in 1763, Major Adams forced the lines of fortification erected by Kasim Ali, when he designed to make Rajmahal his Moslem capital, and Uda Nulla a barrier against the British, who have now reached Peshawar. The pass was formidably entrenched, the ditch being deep, fifty or sixty feet wide and full of water; it held out against the English for a month, but was carried by an attack on the hill forming the right of the lines, and a feint on the river end: but the loss was severe; this led to the reconquest of Monghyr, and the massacre of the English at Patna by Sombre the German adventurer.

The *Sita Pahar* cutting is a work of immense labor through solid basalt; three or four thousand men have been employed on the mining and blasting work. The first contractors abandoned it in despair. The stone is as hard as iron, but on exposure to the air melts away. A jhil to the East of Sita Pahar is navigable in the raifs for boats to the Ganges.

The *Rajmahal Junction* was three years ago a dense tiger jungle; near it two Europeans were killed by Santals in the insurrection. Hill men and Santals may now be seen paying their pice to go by rail from the Junction. On the right the approach to Rajmahal is through jhils and jungle with an occasional ruin, *not yet* turned into ballast, peeping out. The *Domjala Jhil* South of Rajmahal is a fine sheet of water. In the rains it extends seven miles from East to West, three miles from North to South. Kasim Ali intended to have erected on its banks a fine summer house. There is also another fine jhil the Ananta Sarabar; both these jhils are cultivated in the dry season: the river in its vagaries probably flowed where those jhils are now. On the left, within a mile of Rajmahal Station, we pass Begumpur, which, three years ago, contained the ruins of the enormous Zenanah of Sultan Suja, capable of accommodating a thousand "lights of the harem"—all has been ruthlessly used up for ballast. To the North of it, a place, now a jhil, was once an extensive sheet of water, where regattas and aquatic sports were engaged in for the amusement of the inmates of the Zenana. Opposite to it the Sultan's Army of 30,000 men used to be encamped.

Rajmahal, the apex of the Bengal Delta is the *present* point for tapping the Ganges traffic. The Railway Company by means of two tram roads, have formed a connection between the river and station, available even when the Ganges is at its lowest; but

there is little doubt Rajmahal will, for up-country boats, have to yield the palm to Colgong, which saves a long detour: at all events even Rajmahal will save merchandise being forced for nine months in the year to make a detour, before reaching Calcutta, of five hundred miles,—by railway the distance is only two hundred miles; thus avoiding the Sunderbunds, with its salt water and tigers, dangerous winds, pestiferous jungle and worm-eaten boats.

Time will gradually show the influence that will be exercised by the Railway over the populous and commercial districts of Malda, Bhagulpur, Purnea, Tirhut, Monghyr, Behar, Patna, Sarun, Shahabad, Ghazipur, mutually brought into contact by it, while tributary rivers form a link, such as the Kosi with Purnea, the Gandak with Tirhut and Gorukpur, the Gogra with Chupra and Gorukpur, the Surjya with Ghazipur and Azimghur, the Gumti with Jaunpur and Oude, and the Soane with Shahabad: Sugar, Salt, Opium, Indigo, Saltpetre, and Oilseed are already carried down the Ganges to the amount of ninety thousand tons annually.

Rajmahal is a modern city dating from Akbar's times.* It has a pretty approach by rail through a hilly country: boulders are to be met with near it. The spot selected for the station is very suitable, as the river does not cut away, and it is near the native town. Rajmahal contained in 1811, two hundred brick houses, fifteen thousand thatch houses and thirty thousand people. During the whole time of the Mogul Government it was a place of some importance; but Jehangir's son, Sultan Sujah, was the real founder of it, by making it his residence and the capital of Bengal and Behar, for which by its locality it was well situated,—far better than Murshidabad. Subsequently disliking Gaur, which his grandfather had called an earthly paradise, he erected, A. D. 1630, at Rajmahal, a handsome palace, the *Sangdalan*, of which little now remains,† the stone having been used in building by the Nawabs of Murshidabad. The hall of black marble which once formed Sultan Suja's *boitakana*, now makes a comfortable sitting room for the Railway Engineer. The encroachments of the river, the demand for its

* Major Wilford assigned it as the site of the ancient Palibothr, but he subsequently altered that opinion and assigned Bhagulpur as the site. Native tradition states that Timur laid the plan of it, induced mainly by its central situation, combined with a supply of good water; but Man Sing, a Rajput, raised it, in Akbar's time, to great note, and encouraged Hindus to resort largely to it.

† Except a small but elegant hall opening on the River's ancient bed. The roof is vaulted with stone delicately carved, the walls have traces of gildings and Arabic inscriptions. It is described by Heber, Journal Vol. I. p. 256.

stones for the Murshidabad palace, and English utilitarianism, have reduced the palace to a ruin. Tennant maintains (II—127) that its circumference was equal to that of Windsor: its walls were seven to fourteen feet thick, and twenty feet under the earth. Its flower gardens, aqueducts and galleries over the river, have passed away. South-West of the Sangdalan was the Phulvari garden-house erected by Sultan Suja.* Near it at *Begumpoor* is the tomb of *Bakhtehome*,† widow of an aid-de-camp to Aurungzebe: it has a considerable endowment. The antiquities of Rajmahal commence a mile from the city on the Bhagulpore high road.‡ Some way South is the tomb of Ali Verdi Khan's father, and a little further South is *Nageswarbag*, a palace built by Kasim Ali, five hundred feet square.§

In 1638, an earthquake threw down many buildings in Rajmahal. Besides this a conflagration, and the subsequent removal of the capital to Dacca, led to its destruction. The few remains left near the present station, the material exuvie of a past social state, have been used as ballast. Bishop Heber visited Rajmahal in 1824, and fully describes the ruins. Heber's Journal, Vol. I. pp. 255-7.

The old grave-yard to the North-West of the Hotel contains the remains of Surgeon Boughton, the man who, having gone from Surat to Agra in 1636, and cured the daughter of Shah Jehan, as his fee obtained a patent for his countrymen to trade free of customs duties. He went with this view to Rajmahal and there cured one 'of the lights of' Sultan Suja's 'harem.' He remained in his service enjoying a splendid stipend and secured for his countrymen the privilege of free trade. In consequence of this the East India Company sent ten ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which were introduced to Sultan Suja at Rajmahal. They were kindly received, and their views of extending English trade were promoted; for the Sultan, like the great Akbar, was a friend to trade.

Following the Bhagulpur road to the West we come upon the ruins of old Rajmahal which for three miles stretched its line of

* The Zenana now turned into ballast must have contained 200 separate apartments, and was situated on the banks of what was then a lake, several miles in extent, but which is now a fetid marsh.

† Occupied by a railway officer and loop-holed, a tower was erected in the Santal insurrection for defence.

‡ You pass to them through cottages, palm trees and ruined musjids.

§ Much of it has been used for ballasting the Rail. See drawing in the Calcutta Engineers' Journal, November 2nd, 1857; Ditto May 3rd 1859, of a ruined gateway.

aristocratic buildings on the bank of what was then the bed of the Ganges—no artisans or common people were allowed to live in this Belgravia of Rajmahal. We explored the ruins on an elephant; first, on the left hand side we come to the tomb of Miran who co-operated in the assassination of Sauraja Daula; lights are still kept burning at it;—then to *patara koti* a stone house built by a Mahajan;—then to the remains of the famous Jagat Set's house, of which only the foundations and two buttresses remain; he was worth in Clive's time £8,000,000 sterling; on the right we see the tomb of Eteramed Daula; near it the Roshun mosque built by the same prince two centuries ago. Four miles from Rajmahal, on the South side, is Man Singh's *Jumma Musjid*, great even in ruin.—The *Jumma musjid* was built by Man Singh as a palace, but a complaint being made by a jealous Moslem officer to the emperor Akbar, that he was building an idol temple, Man Singh to defeat his object, turned it into a mosque, measuring in the inside one hundred and thirty eight feet by sixty feet; and opposite to it, on a mound, he erected a splendid house, called Huduf, which is still shewn; it is about four miles from Rajmahal on the Bhagulpur road. Its ruins are still imposing, and, situated on an eminence, it must have had a fine view when the full tide of the Ganges swept close to its walls. Near it is a bridge with four towers, which Kasim Ali fled across, after his defeat at Uda Nulla, though he could have made a stand here, as it was fortified with cannon.

Long ages must have elapsed since the waves of the Bay of Bengal washed the Rajmahal hills,* and ever since that period the Bengal Delta has been gradually extending into the sea; notwithstanding all the assertions of pilots and merchants, the day may not be probably far distant when much of the trade of

* Assuming Ellet's calculations, that the Mississippi Delta took 45,000 years for its formation, the Ganges must have taken far more.

Tradition and local examination shew according to Buchanan Hamilton III. 15, that the Kosi formerly flowed, far to the South East, *vid* Tajpur and joined the Bruhmaputra,—that the great lakes North and East from Malda, are remains of the Kosi, united to the Mahanadi, and that on the junction of the Ganges and Kosi, the two opened the passage now called the Padma, and the old bed of the Bhagirathi from Suti to Nuddea, was deserted by the great river. This is in accordance with native tradition, which considers the Bhagirathi that flows down by Hugly as the true Ganges,—Captain Layard is of the same opinion, and so is Major Sherwill as the result of observation. At Tirtapur or Jahnvi, near the mouth of the Bhagirathi, is a famous place of pilgrimage, where, according to the myth, Kapil Muni swallowed the Ganges, and when Bhagirathi recovered her, she was stolen by Sunkasur, who led her down the banks of the Padma; with difficulty Bhagirathi recalled the Goddess to the narrow Channel at Suti. Hamilton writes of this: 'These legends I have no doubt owe their origin, to changes which have taken place in the course of the river, and which are probably of no very remote antiquity.'

Calcutta must be transferred to the Mutla, and the city of Palaces must submit to the freaks of the Ganges as Gaur has had to do. The Ganges forsook Gaur, and thus contributed to its decay, as the Nile's vagaries did to that of Memphis. The Delta of the Mississippi which advances five miles in a century, is a warning to Calcutta. Similarly the deposit of the Po has converted cities, which at the beginning of the Christian era were good seaports, into inland towns, now twenty miles away from the sea shore.

In 1841 a survey was made for a Ganges Canal between Rajmahal and Calcutta. Nothing has been done as yet; but the railway will not supersede river navigation for bulky articles, as has been shewn in England and America. In 1858, the subject was revived by Government, and Colonel Cotton made a survey on the assumption that not one-tenth of the present traffic could bear the expense of land carriage, that a canal one hundred and twenty yards broad and three deep, would greatly reduce the cost, besides furnishing irrigation to six millions acres, and to Calcutta fresh water and water power. The Ganges' discharge at Rajmahal, at its lowest, is 6,000,000 cubic yards per hour. He proposed to erect at Rajmahal a stone weir across the Ganges, twelve or fifteen feet above the summer level, with locks in it, to transmit the river traffic through Murshidabad, Kishnagur, Santipur. The current would be $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile an hour.

Malda is connected with Rajmahal by a steamer which plies twice a day, between Rajmahal, and the Malda Ghat. Malda was famous last century, when those princely merchants, the Commercial Residents made it their abode, for providing the East India Company with silk and cotton. Malda is close to Gaur; but of Gaur, owing to Moslem plundering little remains. Rajmahal, Malda and Murshidabad have, for centuries, been supplied with building materials from it: now it is famous for its mosquitos and tigers. The best account of Gaur is by W. Creighton, who was employed as an Indigo Planter by C. Grant, from 1786 to 1807, and has left a description of it, published in 1817, with eighteen views and a topographical map. We insert a few memoranda of objects to be seen. Gaur, with its suburbs was nineteen miles long, by one and a half broad. Its river embankments were thirty feet high and one hundred and fifty broad; they had buildings on the top, were pierced by gateways forty feet high, opening on causeways paved with bricks. The Fort was one mile long, by half a mile broad. The Sagur tank runs one mile long by half a mile broad. The *Sona Masjid*, lined with black marble was one hundred and seventy feet long, by seventy-six broad, its four aisles covered by forty-four domes.—*Feroz Shah's Tower*,

ninety feet high, and twenty-one in diameter erected three centuries ago.—The *Dakkil gate*, forty-eight feet high, built A. D. 1466.—*Shah Husain's tomb*, the walls of which were cased with bricks, curiously carved and beautifully glazed blue and white; the best were removed for works in Fort William eighty or ninety years ago.—The *Painted Mosque*; its walls were cased inside and out with glazed bricks wrought in different patterns, colored white, green and blue, built A. D. 1175.—*Kadum Rasul*, built A. D. 1530, visited by pilgrims, to see the stone bearing the impression made by Muhammed's feet. It was brought from Mecca.

Gaur, according to Dow, was the capital of Bengal B. C. 750. We should like to see the data for this. It was more central for Behar and Bengal than Calcutta is, being near the heads of the rivers, which were then deeper than now.

We find that between A. D. 754 and A. D. 785, Gajanta ruled at Gaur which was an independent kingdom. He was the last of Adisur's dynasty, which was succeeded by the *Päl Rajas* who ruled over Dinajpur, Kuch Behar, Kamanup, extending their empire to Orissa and the Vindya hills—they were Buddhists: their dynasty ceased A. D. 1040, with Mahmud of Gizni's invasion, who had first taken Kanauj to which their dominion extended. A branch of those Päls ruled over Gwalior. The Vaidya succeeded the Päl. Lakshman Sen, who ruled from A. D. 1077 to A. D. 1114, was a great conqueror; Nepal and Oude fell under him. One of his successors removed the seat of Government to Nuddea to be at a greater distance from the Musulmans, but in A. D. 1200 Nuddea was taken by the Moslems.

A little beyond Rajmahal we come to the frontiers of the land of *Bakar*, which 2,300 years ago rose in revolt against the Brahminical priesthood and caste, and held for seven centuries the ascendancy in India, until fire and sword wielded by Brahmans drove the Buddhists out; but persecution did not extinguish them. Their proselytizing energy spread their system in Kabul, China, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Tibet, and they have now the greatest number of followers of any religion on the face of the earth.*

* Many seeing the firm root Hinduism has taken in Bengal, fancy that Christianity cannot be introduced; but the name Gaur suggests to us, that the last Hindu dynasty that ruled in Gaur the Päl Rajas, were Buddhists, and Hinduism was at such a low ebb, that Adisur King of Gaur, a Hindu by religion, was obliged to import Hindu priests from Kanauj:—the Brahmans of Bengal have only been six centuries settled in Bengal.

The moslem rulers of Gaur were great and powerful, but there is little recorded of them except their wars and the frequent changes of rulers through assassi-

The geological formation of the Rajmahal hills consists of successive layers of lava and basalt, with intercalated sedimentary deposits of sand and clay, and indurated ash, sandstone and shale, full of vegetable remains of five or six successive deposits, with volcanic rocks intervening, the whole rests on detached bases of the coal bearing rocks, and on gneiss, which are seen along the Western scarp: along the Eastern flats, near the hills, laterite or ironstone is abundant as also conglomerates. The age of the groups appears to be the same with the oolitic formation of Europe: trap of various structure and mineral character is poured over those rocks, including both columnar basalt, clay stone, crystalline, trap and pumice. It is curious to see how the molten matter, coming in contact with the upper beds of the stratified rocks; has indurated and vitrified them to an intense hardness. A report on the Geology of these Hills will shortly be published by Professor Oldham.

Not more memorable, last century, was Hounslew Heath for highwaymen or the Pentland Hills for Rob Roy's followers, than were the Northern fronts of the Rajmahal hills, for the Pahari Robbers, who, descending from their mountain eyries plundered all defenceless travellers. Wee to the traveller whose boat had to lie to for a night near Colgong last century. We have traces of the dread of this all along in the ranges of forts, which extended from Rajmahal to Bhagulpur. the latter place then received its name, from being a city of refuge from hill banditti. Sahabganj had one of these forts; near it many Buddhist-Hindu images have been found. Tellia-gury was another, and it commanded the road to Rajmahal. Could we, after the manner of Sir W. Scott, call up the past, those hills could tell of many raids between the hill chiefs and the Moslem or Hindu rulers of the plains. Rajmahal, Bhagulpur and Monghyr, in consequence, were made great military stations to serve as a check on them. On the fall of the Moslem power the chiefs made constant raids on the plains; Captains Browne and Burke were employed for several years against them, but the allowance of a money grant, and mild means effected, under Cleveland's auspices, what the sword could not do; he ruled that petty disputes were to be settled by themselves, but that parties convict-

nation. They had little security for their lives or government. Pirs or Saints ruled them, and they shewed no quarter to Hindus: conversion or expulsion was the rule. They had not the tolerant spirit of the Moguls, and the people they had to deal with, Bengalis, had no courage to resist. The number of Pir-thans or monuments of saints in Dinajpur, erected on the ruins of Hindu temples shew their power. The Hindus in Bahar expelled the Buddhists, and the same measure was meted to them again by the Moslem.

ed of capital crimes were to be punished by the English judges.

The people on these hills, 'the Gaels of Asia' differ from the Santals in race, manners, language and tradition, and neither eat nor intermarry with them: they live in their eyries on the hill tops. Their faces are oval, their noses seldom arched. They are fond of drink, but good humoured in their cups: at a party one person helps all the rest to liquor, as no man could rely on the moderation of his appetite; their chief food is maize, and they worship a so-called god of that plant: they eat beef and drink beer, which other tribes do not. Their Government is patriarchal. Every family has some land, which is the property of the cultivators.

For ages they were untamed thieves and murderers, engaged in forays on the plains; while the Musalman Zemindars in reprisal shot them as dogs. Cleveland on becoming Collector of Bhagulpur, in 1779, adopted a policy of conciliation: he forbade the Zemindars, who were often the aggressors to attack them; he employed them in a militia corps,* established bazars among them for the sale of the honey, wax, and hides which their hills produced; he gave them tax-free lands to cultivate wheat and barley on; he made shooting excursions with them into the hills, feasted their families, and pensioned the chiefs.†—Sons of the hill-men are now being educated at the Church mission school Bhagulpur; they generally become Sipahis.‡ The Hill men, like the Red men, however are gradually fading away—not before the White man, but before the Santal, whose superior industry has not only reclaimed the plains, but is also enabling him to creep up the hills.

Through the liberality of Government we have obtained access to all the M.S. correspondence extant between Cleveland and the authorities particularly Warren Hastings, who fully sympathised with Cleveland's views. The first letter from Cleveland to Warren Hastings§ is dated Bhagulpur, November

* In Cleveland's time the corps amounted to 1,800, and were armed with the bow and arrow for a time: their native commandant was one Jowral, the Rob Roy of the hills, and he proved most active against his fellow-countrymen.

† Of the hills, while Santals occupy the valleys.

‡ On Cleveland's death, all his plans for teaching simple manufactures, providing them with implements of husbandry and seeds, were dropped. Colonel Shaw took some interest in them in 1787. Lord Hastings, too, while on a visit here, ordered them implements of husbandry and potato seed, but his orders were neglected.

§ W. Hastings was the first European in Bengal who conciliated natives by his interest in their studies and patronage of their literature; he urged Wilkins to bring out Bengali types in 1778, when the latter became at one and the same time metallurgist, engraver, founder, printer.

1779, in which month he was appointed Collector on a salary of 150 Rupees monthly. He says 'the success which has hitherto attended my endeavors to regulate the Hill Chokeybundey, and the means I have used to bring down the hill chiefs, have succeeded as much beyond my own expectations, as the good effects already experienced from them have equally astonished, and satisfied the minds of the low country inhabitants. The Gauts and Chokeys of the Northern Range of Hills extending from Sacragully to Shahabad are now entirely completed. The Western Range from Shahabad to within two coss of Jumnee is also settled very much to my satisfaction; and I shall complete the remainder of this Range to the southward, at the back of Sultanabad and running down close upon the Beerbhoom Boudary, being by much the most troublesome and uncivilized part of the whole country, as soon as I can, prevail on the hill chiefs and Gautwalls to come in and submit to me.' He mentions his agreement with the plan proposed by the hill chiefs, at a feast given to them by him at Rajmahal in April 1779, viz. of having the whole range of hills under one authority and system. He remarks on this, 'unless the whole range of hills are put under one authority, and the same system of governing them adopted throughout, all the pains I am taking to put them in my own district on a proper footing, (particularly those to the southward of the Eastern and Western Ranges, the one joining with Ammar and the other running close upon the back of Sultanabad,) will be in vain, as I am myself thoroughly convinced that all the inhabitants of the hills may in a short time be induced to submit. As a proof of which, within these nine months, I have had the most flattering experience of the good effects to be expected from the system I have adopted, no less than forty-seven hill chiefs and all their adherents having voluntarily submitted to me and taken an oath of allegiance to Government during that time, and I make no doubt, if the same system continues to be adopted, there is not a chief in that vast extent of country who will not gladly renounce his hitherto precarious and desperate way of life, for the ease and comforts he will enjoy, in being obedient to, and under the protection of a mild and regular Government. They have never yet been fairly put to the test how far their dispositions may incline them to be upon good terms with us. We have till lately considered them as enemies, and they have been treated accordingly. It is but consonant with our own principles of Justice and Humanity, to use every means in our power to avoid a state of warfare; why should they be denied to this

‘unfortunate people? I must do those who have submitted the justice to say—and I call all the inhabitants of this country in general to witness, that the hill people have not, for many years been so quiet as they have been for these last eight or nine months, except, as I before mentioned, near the boundary of Ammar.’

In March Mr. Cleveland writes to Warren Hastings that Rupnarain is so on the watch, that there is little chance of taking him; and recommends the withdrawing three companies of sepoy from Chandan to Chukyea, the Jangelterry being perfectly quiet, excepting Sultanabad, where Morar Sing of Jummi was roving about with several armed followers, though he had seven eighths of the revenue of Jummi allotted to him for keeping up chokeys near the hills, for the good government of which he was considered responsible. Mr. Cleveland wishes his Taluk to be resumed, and ‘to re-establish the chokeys in the same manner as has been adopted in the other districts, by loans from Government without interest, the repayment of which will be sufficiently secured on the resumption of the Talook.’

In a letter, dated April 21st 1780, from Sikrigully, Mr. Cleveland states the whole of his plans about the hill people; we give them in extenso as a precious historical document:—

‘Having for some days past been employed in receiving visits from the hill chiefs, in the several Pergunnahs under my authority, and having feasted them and given them the usual presents suitable to their rank, it is with singular pleasure I have the honor to acquaint the Board, that their behaviour, their proposals to me, and their ready compliance with some I made to them in return, have given me the greatest satisfaction, and I flatter myself will equally ensure your approbation.

‘These people in general, are now become so sensible of the advantages to be derived from a firm attachment and submission to Government, that many of them have not scrupled to declare, they would for ever renounce all unlawful practices of robbery, murders, and devastations, if Government would point out and secure to them the means of subsistence, the want of which has frequently obliged them to commit acts, they seem to have some idea, are not only improper but inhuman. This naturally led into a proposal which I have long had in meditation, and is grounded on the following principles. The inhabitants of the hills have in fact no property, a mere subsistence is all they seem to require, to obtain which the means appear as a secondary consideration. The first question that occurs therefore is, whether it is for the interest of Government to supply the means of subsistence for a certain time, or to suffer the inhabitants of the hills to commit devastations on the country, as they have done for many years past. Certainly the former. For although the losses which Government has experienced in its receipts of revenue on this account, have in fact been trifling, owing to the rigid observance of the engagements entered into with the Zemindars and Farmers, yet the sufferings of the low country inhabitants during the hill insurrections are not to be described. To make friends therefore with the hill chiefs is with all due sub- mission an object worthy the attention of Government. In the memory of the

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oldest inhabitants they never expressed themselves so earnestly for an accomodation as at present.

The disbursement, and of course the circulation of money in the hills by Government, appears to me the most-likely bait to ensure the attachment of the chiefs, and at the same time nothing will be so conducive to the civilization of the inhabitants as to employ a number of them in our service.

On these principles I have taken the liberty to make the following proposals, which the hill people have cheerfully agreed to, provided they meet with your approbation. 1st, that each Manjei or chief estimated at about four hundred, shall furnish one or more men as may be required, to be incorporated into corps of archers. 2nd That a chief shall be appointed to every fifty men, and shall be accountable for the good behaviour of their respective divisions in the corps. 3rd That the corps for the present shall act immediately under the orders of the Collector of Boglipore, and to be employed in his districts only. 4th That the enemies of Government are to be considered as enemies by the hill people, and that it shall be expressly and particularly the duty of the corps to bring all refractory hill chiefs and gautwalls to terms, or to expel them from their country, and treat them as enemies wherever they may be found. 5th That each hill chief commanding a division in the corps shall have an allowance of 5 rs., per mensem, the common people 3 rs.; and effectually to secure the Manjeys or chiefs of the several hills, in a firm attachment to Government, each chief supplying a common man for the corps, shall receive a monthly allowance of 2 rs. subject however to such restrictions as may be thought necessary in case of misbehaviour. 6th That each man in the corps shall have 2 turbans, 2 cummerbunds 2 shirts, 2 pairs of jungheas and a purpet jacket annually.

The two latter proposals, I have not yet made, having informed the chiefs in general terms only, that if the plan meets with your approbation, they shall have no reason to complain of their allowances.

I now take the liberty of proposing that one man be immediately entertained from each hill, and a chief appointed by themselves for the present to every fifty men.

The expense at this rate will be nearly as follows, agreeably to the 5th and 6th articles of my proposal:—

8 Chiefs commanding divisions in the corps, @ 5 Rs.	40
400 Common Hill people, " 3 "	1,200
400 Chiefs (not in the corps) supplying the above, " 2 "	800
	<hr/>
per mensem	2,040
	12
	<hr/>
	24480
16 Turbans &c. annually, agreeable to the 6th article, } for the Chiefs in the corps, @ 10 Rs.	160
800 ditto for common people, " 6 "	4800
	<hr/>
Total annual expense	29,440

The cloth for jackets to be supplied from the Company's warehouse in Calcutta.

I confess gentlemen, the sum of Rupees 29,440 annually, appears to be an enormous disbursement, where no apparent advantage to the Hon'ble Company's Revenue, is likely to be immediately derived from it. The object,

however, will, I flatter myself, appear to you in a more extensive light, and when you consider the comfort you will, in all human probability, administer to a race of people hitherto little better than savages, who will in a course of time, become useful members to the community in the very heart of your dominions, these,—and the confidence which the inhabitants of the adjacent countries will have in their village and hereditary possessions, no longer apprehensive of continued devastation and murders—will I trust be at least sufficient inducement for you to give my proposal a due consideration. And any alterations and exceptions, which in your wisdom you may think fit to make, will, I have not the least doubt, be cheerfully subscribed to by the hill chiefs. The expense however as the inhabitants become civilized, may in a great measure be suspended, as they will no doubt find the same means of supporting themselves, that people of the same class, have done in other countries by emigration or proper attention to the cultivation of their own lands.'

In order to comply with W. Hastings' order to apprehend Rupnarain Das, the Zemindar of Chanderry, who was attacking the Bhagulpur and Gurruckpur Pergunnahs, Captain Browne gave him three light companies of Sepoys for the purpose. Two years before the Jungleterry was placed under the Collectorate of Bhagulpur, and Mr. Cleveland dwells on the importance of that measure. 'The services for which a military force could have been required here, when the Jungleterry was under Captain Browne, must in a great measure have arisen from disturbances in those Districts, and he was then certainly the best judge, what was necessary to be done to secure the country from degradation. But now the case is very different, the whole is under my authority, and unless I have the immediate knowledge and direction of every military operation as well as civil transaction, I cannot pursue, with any degree of confidence, or spirits, such plans as may to me appear necessary to be adopted, lest I should be counteracted therein by any different process, which in Captain Browne's opinion might be more advisable for the public good.' Rupnarain kept himself closely concealed in Turi Fort Birbhum* Jungleterry. Cleveland deprecates any general attack on these grounds. 'We have already had sufficient experience of our incapacity to trace these people through their jungles, with any probability of success against their persons. Their country may be destroyed it is true, but whilst we are employed in doing this, and hunting one party from place to place, another is at the same time taking ample revenge by plundering and setting fire to the villages, in the more civilized and cultivated parts of the country. I will use my endeavours to put the country on such a footing as will make it for the advantage of the chiefs

* It held out against Capt. Brooke in 1773 a long time until cannon were brought against it.

‘and gautwalls to continue obedient, and properly affected to our Government. Orders were sent to the Birbhum Raja about it.’

The Board of Revenue in August 1780, sanctioned allowances of 550 Rs. monthly, as an encouragement for the future good behaviour of the chiefs, they being bound under penalty of a suspension of their allowances, to be accountable for the good order, and management of their respective districts.

In September 1780, Mr. Cleveland writes from Monghyr, ‘the chiefs of the Northern hills agreed, but those to the Southward, whose hills lie contiguous to the Pergunnahs of Ammar and Sultanabad, absolutely refused to accept any allowances, on the terms prescribed, alleging as a reason, that they could not be answerable for the conduct of their neighbours, and as they had often since the commencement of my arrangements, given proofs of their refractory dispositions, without expressing the smallest inclination to surrender themselves to Government, they would now become every day more incensed against my division, and would plunder and destroy the villages in it, with re-doubled fury; their motives for this, I understand would be to compel the chiefs under my authority to renounce their allegiance, which they might easily be induced to do, rather than become accountable for disturbances, which it would not be in my power to assist them in preventing, and as they have an idea that as long as any part of my division remains unsettled, chastisement would be entirely suspended, or equally divided, whereas if otherwise, the whole blame would fall inevitably on them in case of disturbances, they conceive that a persevering refractory conduct, would have the end desired. For these reasons the chiefs in question decline to accept the allowances, unless similar arrangements take place in Ammar and Sultanabad, and the chiefs and deputies there are bound by the same penalties, to be answerable for the good order and management of their respective districts.’

Mr. Cleveland’s remedy was to annex the Pergunnahs of Ammar and Sultanabad to his authority: he adds; ‘I have been further induced to say thus much on the subject, in consequence of the very flattering approbation, my plans, in general, had the honor to meet with from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. in several conversations I had with him on his way, both up and down the country. And my proposal for raising a corps of archers, as represented in my address of 21st April, was particularly approved of by him. I have taken the liberty of recalling your attention to this circumstance also, being persuaded of the good effects, it will have in bringing the hill inhabitants to a speedy state of civilization, add to which the

'great service they may be of in Military operations, at a future period.' In February 1781, he writes from Sultanabad of having enlisted the hill men, and 'so well pleased are the Mountaineers in general with the service proffered to them, that my only difficulty now, is to frame excuses for not entertaining more than the prescribed number. 'I shall do myself the honor of laying a full account of my proceedings and negotiations before you, as soon as I can possibly collect them together. In the mean time I have the satisfaction to observe, that my success has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. I flatter myself there will not again be any cause of complaint from the people of the low country, on account of insurrections or depredations of the Mountaineers, as long as a proper attention is paid to the regulations which have been lately adopted.' He wished Beelputtah near Sultanabad, to be annexed.

In December 1782, Mr. Cleveland writes from Bhagulpur to Warren Hastings, that Rupnarain is considerably in arrears of the tribute of his Gatwali of Chandoory held by a Mocurydeen of the Board since 1777. Mr. Cleveland mentions that Rupnarain twice paid his respects to him, when in the district near Chandoory, but was attended by near 500 Matchlock men; and that he had a long conversation with him, at Junudah, in which he assured him his past offences were forgiven, 'having, as I then thought, given him confidence that his former misconduct was forgotten that it might never more be a source of uneasiness to him. It was my wish to have introduced him to the Hon'ble Governor General, on his way down the country, as I had not a doubt but Rupnarain would be flattered, in having the opportunity of paying his respects, to the first member of Government, and that he would certainly be impressed with assurances made to him by such high authority, which it was my intention to have requested of the Governor General, as a confirmation of all I had said. But in this, however, I was disappointed. Rupnarain never came to Boglipore. On my second interview with him, in February last, at Durrampore, I represented the impropriety of his coming to me, with such a train of people, upon which he made an apology, dismissed them all except a few attendants, and afterwards remained in my camp four or five days. But this was in his own district, and I soon found out that his people were within call at the shortest notice. In short whether Rupnarain Das, is under apprehensions of being seized for his former misdeeds, if he comes to Boglipore, or whether he piques himself on never attending at the Sudder Cutcherry of the district, as all other Zemindars and Gautwals do, at least once a year, I cannot pre-

'tend to say, but I trust, gentlemen, at all events, you will see the necessity of taking some decisive measures, either to bring him to reason or to dispossess him of his Gantwally altogether * * * I have only to add on this subject, that unless Rupnarain Das is brought to a proper sense of his duty, or made an example of, the several arrangements which I have hitherto carried on, with so much success, in the Hills, will be materially affected. And as I now consider my own credit as much at stake as the interest of this Government, to accomplish the entire subjection and civilization of the Jungleterry and Hill inhabitants in general, I flatter myself you will do me the honor to repose such confidence in me, as to believe, I neither recommend nor desire any measures to be adopted, which I am not fully convinced will accelerate the accomplishment of the object in view.' Rupnarain in the end complied with Mr. Cleveland's orders.

In February 1783 Mr. Cleveland writes, showing the benefits resulting from employing the Hill rangers, whom he used as the Russians do the Cossacks.—'Some of the Hill Chiefs dependant on the Sultanabad Zemindar, having lately committed some disturbances in Radshai, and having plundered some villages in that district, of about 100 head of cattle, I was under the necessity of detaching four companies, from the corps of Hill Archers and fifty Militia Sepoys, under the command of Jourah, commandant, about fifteen days ago, to apprehend the Chiefs concerned in this revolt. It is with much satisfaction I have the honour to inform you that the commandant has laid hold of all the people, I sent him after, and is now on his return to Boglipore with the detachment and prisoners, the latter of whom will be regularly tried, as soon as I can assemble the Hill people for that purpose.

'Having strong suspicions that the Hill Chiefs have been instigated to this revolt by the Ranny Sirbisserry, the Zemindar of Sultanabad, I have thought it necessary to bring the Ranny and her Duan to this place, where they are under restraint. The result of the trial I shall do myself the honor to inform you of; and if in the course of it, any thing be proved against the Ranny, I am of opinion, it will be necessary to inflict some exemplary punishment upon her, to prevent any thing of the kind in future. * * * Since the establishment of the corps of Hill Archers, this is the third time I have had occasion to employ them against their brethren. And as they have always succeeded in the business, they have been sent upon, I flatter myself the Honorable Board will not only be convinced of the utility, and attachment of the corps, but that they will have full

'confidence in the general system, which I have adopted for the management of this wild and extensive country.

'As Jourah Commandant was the first inhabitant of the hills who entered into the service of Government, and he has uniformly conducted himself with propriety, and very much to my satisfaction, I shall be happy if it meets with the Honorable Board's concurrence to honor him with some reward as a mark of their approbation. In a pecuniary way, an addition of 10 Rs. per mensem to his pay of 20 will make his income handsome, and no doubt be satisfactory to him, as an honorable reward for his services and attachment. I take the liberty of requesting your permission, to give a jaghire of about 400 begas of land to the first son he has born in the Hill Archer's cantonment. I recommend the jaghire being given to his son, because I think it will be the most agreeable way of rewarding him; and there is little doubt of his having one, as he has no less than four wives, two of whom are now at this place pregnant and will both lie in within the next two months.'

In March 1783 in a letter from Bhagulpur Mr. Cleveland gives an account of his plan for trying offences by the hill chiefs themselves.

'I had the honor to inform you in my address of the 14th ultimo, that the detachment which I had sent into the hills against some refractory chiefs was then on its return with several prisoners. I have now to acquaint you that an assembly of the hill chiefs was held here from the 28th ultimo. to the 1st. instant when 17 prisoners were brought before them for trial, viz.

Roopal Alangery	of Kiles Hill	} Charged with sundry robberies and rebellion, being taken prisoners in arms against the corps of Hill Archers.
Chumral Durway	of ditto	...	...
Singhri	of ditto	...	...
Bundral Mangey	of Duwory	...	...
Durie	of Daldully	...	...
Dulro	of ditto	

Singha Mangey	of Buskea	} The first a Jemadar and the two latter Sepoys in the corps of Hill Archers, charged with a robbery in Radshai when on leave of absence.
Party	of Chowdar	...	...
Mungut	of ditto	...	...

Lutchoo Mangey	of Nidgir	} Charged with sundry robberies in Radshai.
Dermal Mangey	of Jumney	...	...
Buskal Mangey	of DunnearKhord	...	...
Ganshey	of Chowdar	...	...
Budderreal	of Buskia	...	...

Cawn Mangey	of Chowdar	} Charged with employing his people in sundry robberies, and for several acts of rebellion.
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Rial... .. of Dowo } Charged with a robbery in
 Pundoo of ditto } Radahai,

of whom the 8 following were found guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, and were ordered to be hanged, viz. Roopal, Chumral Durway, Bundral, Singha, Dermal, Buskal, Ganshey and Cawn.

'The remainder of the prisoners were ordered to be kept in confinement, until they could give me sufficient security for their future good behaviour.

'I have accordingly approved the proceedings of the assembly, and except Chumral Durway, whom I have judged it necessary to retain for the present, the prisoners ordered to be hanged were executed this morning in the presence of the corps of Hill Archers, the chiefs and several thousand inhabitants of the hills.

'I have the pleasure to inform the Honorable Board, that this assembly was held and conducted with uncommon solemnity, and I have the satisfaction to observe throughout the whole of their proceedings that strict justice was done to every prisoner without the smallest partiality, for or against any of them.

During the course of the trials several of the prisoners alleged in their defence, that they had been instigated to commit robberies by the Ranny Serbisserry the zemindar of Sultanabad; but the Ranny who was brought before the assembly in a covered Dooly denied the charges, and the prisoners had nothing further to allege against her, than that they *had been informed* by Poosal, Dermal and Tekol, three other Mangeys, that the Ranny had sent them the usual allowance of provisions on such occasion, and orders to plunder by two of her agents, Currem Mundal and Nermah, both inhabitants of Sultanabad; also that Curreem Mundal had received from Poosal, twelve buffaloes being the Ranny's share of the plunder.

The charges at present exhibited against the Ranny are certainly not sufficiently proved to proceed against her. As I have a strong suspicion however that they are founded on truth, I have summoned Curreem Mundal, Nermah and the afore-mentioned Mangeys all of whom shall be strictly examined, and I will then do myself the honor to lay before you their several depositions. Lohanny Sing and Jaboo Roy two inhabitants of Cooherpertub in Radshai, have also been accused by some of the prisoners as the instigators to their robberies, and of having received a portion of the plunder, all which I have too much reason to believe, from the general bad character of the men, and from some circumstances of Lohanny Sing's conduct, which I had occasion to represent in July last to the Committee. I have therefore taken upon me to send people to endeavour to apprehend these men, as I am convinced they would pay no attention to a regular summons. I thought it necessary to reprove Chumral Durway as he acknowledges to have had a kind of partnership with Lohanny Sing, in several robberies for many years past, and he promises to prove all he had advanced.

'I flatter myself my proceedings on this occasion will be honored with your approbation.'

In a letter from Rajmahal, March 1783, Mr. Cleveland writes about the implication of Ranny Sarbasarri Sing, in several robberies. He states '1st, That Curreem Mundal, with his servant 'Nermah, went into the hills in the month of Sarvon last with a 'large quantity of rice, salt and tobacco which he distributed to 'Poosah and other Mangeys, for cattle they were to plunder from 'the Beerbhoom villages, and to give in exchange, telling them at

'the same time that the grain, &c. was the property of the Sircar
 ' (meaning the Ranny) and that the Mangeys would be exculpat-
 ' ed should any notice be hereafter taken of their conduct. 2nd
 ' That Poosah Mangey accordingly plundered the village of Run-
 ' gong in Beerbhoom, of 30 buffaloes, and about ten days after he
 ' had received the grain, &c. he delivered the buffaloes to Curreem
 ' Mundal on his own account, and 3 more into his charge to be
 ' conveyed to the Ranny, as her share of the plunder. 2nd That
 ' Poosah Mangey sold the remaining 16 Buffaloes, to different
 ' Ryots in Sultanabad. 4th That Curreem Mundal conveyed the
 ' 3 Buffaloes aforesaid to the Ranny, that she expressed great dis-
 ' satisfaction on the occasion, and would not receive them, in con-
 ' sequence of which they were ordered to be returned; but Poosah
 ' Mangey denies ever having received them back again. Although
 ' I cannot ascertain that Ranny did actually return her proportion
 ' of plunder, yet from the prevarication of the evidence and the
 ' Ranny's own account of the transaction, I have strong reasons
 ' for believing she was more deeply concerned in the business than
 ' really appears. Admitting, however, that the Ranny did not
 ' receive the cattle, nor was in any respect concerned in Curreem
 ' Mundal's transactions with the hill people, it was certainly her
 ' duty as zemindar of the Purgunnah, to have informed me of any
 ' particular circumstance relative thereto, that Poosah Mangey,
 ' and Curreem Mundal might have been called to an account for
 ' their behaviour. The Ranny, however, never once addressed me
 ' on this subject. I think therefore she is highly culpable, and
 ' as her conduct renders her on every account a proper object for
 ' an example, which is become absolutely necessary, to put a stop
 ' to the connivance hitherto carried on by the zemindars of one
 ' district, at the depredation of the hill people on the inhabitants
 ' of their neighbours, I take the liberty of submitting to the
 ' Board's consideration the good effects that may be expected from
 ' dispossessing the Ranny of her zemindary, a measure I am in-
 ' duced to recommend in the strongest manner, from a conviction
 ' of the necessity of it. As the Ranny has heirs or near relations,
 ' the person whom the Honorable Board may think proper to ap-
 ' point her successor, should be obliged to give her such a main-
 ' tenance as may be judged proper during her life time. And in
 ' order to destroy effectually any influence the Ranny might retain
 ' in the Purgunnah or hills notwithstanding her dispossession, I
 ' recommend that she should not be allowed to reside in or near
 ' Sultanabad on any account whatever. Curreem Mundal and
 ' Nermah I have delivered over for trial to the Phousdary court.'
 He makes one very important remark showing that the hill
 people were tempted often to plunder the low country people,
 ' that until some of the inhabitants of the low country, who

'carry on the illicit and destructive traffic with the hill people, 'are made severe examples of, it will avail little to punish the 'hill people for plundering, as they are generally employed in 'this service by the Gantwalls and Zemindary officers, who frighten 'them into a compliance by threatening to expose the whole of 'their former conduct. In short, Gentlemen, I am sorry to say 'that it has hitherto been almost a general custom with the low 'country inhabitants of Sultanabad, Radshai and Beerbhoom to 'employ the hill people in plundering each other's villages. And 'almost every man has been so deeply concerned, that even the 'sufferers have been afraid to complain, lest their iniquitous practices should be brought to light.' In July of the same year Mr. Cleveland represents, that he could do nothing with Rupnarain, who aimed at independence. Mr. Cleveland writes in the last of his letters that we have, July 29, 1783, that he must be removed from the country, as his father Jugarnath had required 2,000 troops to be brought against him.

Such is all we have extant of the career of a man, who, in epic days, would have been exalted from a hero to an object of worship.*

We now bring our article to a close, and trust that we have shewn that not a little interest belongs to Rajmahal and its historical associations.* We give as a specimen of the Rajmahal hill language, a translation of the Lord's Prayer.

O mergh no doku Aba ninki namith pak menan deth ninki rajeth barándeth ninki mareth merghno menith achovehi qeqlno hon menandeth inti lapen eme qata auro jesa em eim bahano elurin māp nanim áchovehi nin enki elen māp nana auro emen takyoma pare dagrāhante bachatra indrain ki ninki rajeth bareth auro simajarethjugek behith. Amin.

* With reference to several remarks made in the above article as to the conduct of Europeans towards the natives, we quote with pleasure a few lines from the 'Friend of India,' May 2nd 1861, (page 483).

'The rail runs for nearly 200 miles through the Sonthal Pergunnas, Bhagulpore and Monghyr, and the number of Europeans employed on that length has varied from one to three hundred; but, during the past five years, not more than four serious cases occurred, between Christian officers of the rail on one side and natives, in or out of their employ, on the other. One of these cases was a homicide in which the offender was acquitted in the Supreme Court; and two were cases of assault, both committed by the same individual, not an Englishman. Mr. Yule says—"I never heard of a charge against the higher officers of the rail, and it is wonderful, I think, that there was so few against those in subordinate positions, who were often fresh from home and located far from control. I exclude petty cases of all kinds, and maltreatment of native by native; but even these were anything but numerous. As to money matters the natives seldom complained, and seldom indeed had cause to do so. If they were not treated with justice and kindness, do you think they would swarm to the rail as they do?" And yet, with these facts before them, there is a large class of officials and missionaries who would exclude the educated European from India lest the native be oppressed.'

Traffic of the three Railways compared.

Year ending 30th June.	No. of Miles.	Railway.	No. of PASSENGERS.				Tonnage of Goods.	Receipts from Passengers.	Receipts from Goods.	Total Receipts.	Working Ex- penses.	Net Profits.*
			1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total.						
1853-54	35	Great Indian Peninsula, ...	11,780	62,217	461,108	535,105	23	13,647	604	14,251	7,129	7,122
1854-55	156	{ East Indian, 121 } { Great Indian Peninsula .. 35 }	15,476	78,708	777,330	851,514	33,603	36,009	10,015	46,024	31,876	14,148
1855-56	209	{ East Indian 121 } { Great Indian Peninsula, ... 88 }	16,918	86,153	1,242,801	1,345,872	133,107	68,504	47,118	105,622	45,795	59,827
1856-57	274	{ East Indian, 121 } { Great Indian Peninsula, ... 88 } { Madras, 65 }	23,001	91,088	1,710,747	1,834,836	250,792	92,723	105,154	197,877	81,596	116,281
1857-58	332	{ East Indian, 121 } { Great Indian Peninsula, ... 130 } { Madras, 81 }	27,400	90,918	2,012,491	2,130,809	329,063	111,131	150,615	261,746	111,444	150,302
1858-59†	433	{ East Indian, 143 } { Great Indian Peninsula, ... 194 } { Madras, 96 }	28,973	1,76,536	2,516,533	2,722,332	195,431	157,431	224,994	402,025	187,065	214,960

* It is possible that these amounts may be slightly altered hereafter, as there are certain charges about which there is some doubt as to whether they should be applied to capital or revenue.

† A further section of 35 miles was opened on the Great Indian Peninsula line, just before the end of the year.

The following is the Comparative cost of Railways

NAMES OF STATE.	Year.	Length of Line open.	TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDED.		RECEIPTS, TRAFFIC.		
				Per Mile of Line open.		Per Mile of Line open.	
		Mile.	£	£	£	£	
Austria,	1856	1,586	25,876,786	16,378	3,461,322	2,190	
Belgium,	1856	445	7,294,783	16,391	960,327	2,158	
France,.....	1854	2,913	74,772,994	25,668	7,882,666	2,706	
Germany, exclusive of Austria and Prussia,	1855	2,226	29,185,250	13,111	4,042,370	1,816	
Great Britain. {	England & Wales, ...	1857 *	6,706	263,145,238	39,275	20,195,460	2,161
	Scotland,...	1857	1,243	36,084,288	28,225	2,486,890	2,107
	Ireland, ...	1857	1,070	16,760,300	15,664	1,139,296	1,091
Holland,.....	1857	163	3,248,845	19,931	278,619	1,709	
Prussia,	1856	2,503	35,295,043	14,101	4,537,602	1,877	
Sardinia,.....	1855	234	... ..	.....	338,724	1,477
Spain,	1855	130	... ..	.....	137,028	924
Switzerland,	1856	208	4,037,427	19,868	129,271	636	
Tuscany,.....	1856	122	2,053,403	15,556	127,536	966	
United States of America,.....	1855	17,481	144,646,953	8,275	18,780,848	1,234	
East Indian,	1855-59	142	1,716,000	12,084	205,587	1,447	
Great Indian Peninsula,.....	1855-59	194	1,699,033	8,758	148,496	764	
Madras,	1855-59	96	672,000	7,000	47,942	499	

throughout the world, along with the Indian ones.

WORKING EXPENDITURE.		NET RECEIPTS.		Proportion per cent. of working expenses to receipts.	Proportion per cent., which net Receipts bear to the capital expended.
	Per Mile of Line open.		Per Mile of Line open.		
£	£	£	£		
1,824,120	1,150	1,637,202	1,040	52.70	6.32
560,800	1,260	399,727	898	58.16	5.48
3,469,237	1,191	4,413,439	1,516	44.01	6.58
1,442,828	897	2,599,442	919	49.38	5.70
9,707,498	1,564	10,487,962	1,597	48.00	4.06
1,093,970	941	1,392,920	1,168	44.00	4.13
438,771	465	700,525	628	38.00	3.99
169,837	1,042	108,782	667	60.96	3.35
2,341,005	968	2,196,597	909	51.59	6.22
174,050	744	164,674	703	51.38	.....
67,979	522	69,149	402	56.48	.....
69,273	341	59,998	295	54.28	1.48
58,901	446	68,635	520	46.18	3.34
10,079,149	666	8,701,700	568	54.00	6.70
96,184	677	109,403	770	45.04	7.410
65,491	337	83,005	427	44.1	5.140
25,390	264	22,552	234	52.9	2.18

ART. VI.—*Scheme for the Amalgamation of the Indian and British Armies, Home News, January 26th, 1861.*

A GREAT event in the history of our country is, while we write, on the eve of accomplishment. Whilst these lines flow from our pen, the scheme resolved on, after so many months of discussion and consideration, by the collective wisdom of three great offices of state, the Horse Guards, the India Office and the Executive Government of India, is receiving at the hands of a specially appointed Commission, that final manipulation which is to fit it for its appearance in the pages of the Calcutta Gazette. To give due solemnity to an occasion big with the fate of many thousands of British Officers, and which is to witness the obsequies of an Army, and its resurrection under a totally new organization, the Commander-in-chief has been summoned from Umballa, and is now present to render the Governor General the invaluable aid of his experience and judgment. A few days more, and the hopes and fears of four long years will be cleared up! In sober earnest it is a great event we are witnessing, and a spectacle at once grand and touching! We are witnessing the extinction of an army which has existed for more than one hundred years, amidst all the vicissitudes attending the acquisition of a mighty Empire;—which has emblazoned upon its banners the emblems of a hundred battles, and the officers of which have, by their ability, no less in the cabinet than in the field, contributed, in an eminent degree, to build up the reputation which England enjoys in the public opinion of the world. But though in some sense the process now awaiting the Indian Army is that of extinction, the word hardly conveys a true appreciation of the reality. It would be perhaps nearer the mark to compare the impending dissolution of the Indian Army with the case of the titled heiress whose wealth and titles merge, and are lost sight of, in the higher honour, and greater wealth of him to whom she gives her hand;—and just as the offspring of such a pair may be expected to inherit the characteristic virtues of both father and mother, so may we surely anticipate, that the army, which, in the next generation, will proceed from the British and Indian Armies, now to be united, will be worthy of the joint parentage from which it sprung!

It is impossible, however, to mark without deep concern, the attitude in which a great portion of the Indian army is awaiting the official declaration of the scheme, by which their future prospects are to be decided. Whilst few are looking with hope and exultation to the enlarged field of action they see before

them, too many, it may be feared, are regarding the coming arrangements with preconceived suspicion and determined hostility. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, is the motto of these last. They have adopted the idea that they have nothing but coldness and injustice to look for from the detested Horse Guards, and their attitude is that of men, who, come what will, are determined to regard themselves as injured and trampled upon. This is doubtless very deplorable, and every effort of those who have the remotest chance of influencing public opinion, should be directed to the object of placing the impending measure in a just and reasonable light, before the eyes of those whom it is to affect.

Whilst amalgamation, or the separate existence of the two services, was still a debated and open question, it was right that both sides should be heard, and natural, that where personal interests and feelings were concerned, the debate should be carried on with some warmth of temper and even acrimony. But for months the question has been decided, no argument and no cavilling can now affect it. The frigate, so to say, has had to succumb to the superior weight of metal of the line of battle ship. It behoves the crew of the frigate to haul down their colours with a good grace, and instead of meeting their captors with scowling and suspicious glances, to receive them with the frankness which belongs to brave men of the same profession. Surely this is the conduct which good sense prescribes to the officers of the Indian Army, in common with all who suffer under disappointed hopes or defeat. The situation as we view it, and dropping all metaphor, is this. Amalgamation, months ago resolved on, is now on the eve of accomplishment. A scheme for its achievement, approved and ratified by the Sovereign herself, only awaits a few necessary local arrangements before it is brought into operation. No hard words, no black looks, can alter what is to all intents and purposes, an accomplished fact. But the Indian officers have it still in their power to influence very materially the footing upon which they shall hereafter stand with their future comrades, both of high and low degree. According to the temper in which they accept the inevitable changes will they receive the hearty sympathy and good will of those into whose ranks they are to pass, or an unfriendly and grudging welcome. At present all is smooth and smiling so far as the Duke of Cambridge, and the Army over which he presides, are concerned. We can confidently assure our readers that there is every inclination on the part of the Commander-in-Chief and those he influences, to render justice to the Indian officers, and to welcome them with a soldierly and high minded frankness. Ask those who were present at the Duke of Cambridge's last

levy two months ago, what was his reception of the Indian officers who had the good taste and correct feeling to be present. The very appointment of Lieut. Colonel Norman to be Assistant Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, is an earnest of the Duke of Cambridge's desire to stand on good terms with the officers of the Indian Service, and to act tenderly in regard to their interests. Could we ask a more acceptable appointment than Colonel Norman's to have been made? Had the Army been desired to elect its own representative at the Horse Guards, upon whom would its choice have fallen so unanimously as on Col. Norman? We repeat that Colonel Norman's appointment is at once a compliment to the Indian Service, and a guarantee that their claims will always have kindly consideration. Let those, who are still incredulous of the Duke's disposition toward the Indian officers, turn to the order lately issued by his desire, on the occasion of a number of Indian Officers being attached to do duty with the Royal Artillery at Woolwich. Surely it is the duty of officers, no less than their interest, to consider carefully the possible result to themselves and their comrades, in case, by a surly or hostile reception of an inevitable measure, they incur the risk of chilling and alienating feelings, which they may be assured are, at present, of the kindest and most conciliatory nature.

We write thus, well knowing that any scheme, which it is within the bounds of reasonable expectation, should be offered for the amalgamation of the two Armies, must press hardly on some one or other of the numerous interests involved. How indeed could it be otherwise? Nothing short of the *locus quo ante* would satisfy many, or, indeed, would suffice to place them in as good a position, as regards their future prospects, as they enjoyed before the events of 1857. Shall the new measure therefore be resented because it contains no proviso for reconstituting every mutinied regiment in Bengal and Bombay, and every office and command which the irresistible torrent of the mutiny has swept away? Surely to do so would be utterly unreasonable. Numerous cases of individual hardship must inevitably arise. Those whom they may affect must reconcile themselves to them, by the same reflection which we bring to bear when a drought ruins our crops, or an inundation sweeps away our harvest, or a stroke of lightning sets fire to our house or our hay-ricks. All that can be reasonably expected is, that there shall be no wanton disregard of the interests of the Indian Officers, and that wherever the blow is inevitable, it shall be dealt as gently as possible, and shall be accompanied by every alleviation that circumstances will admit of. But whatever happens we entreat officers to eschew the prejudice which ascribes

beforehand every sort of chicanery and favouritism to the Horse Guards, as a matter of course, and never gives that much abused institution the credit of fair and honest dealing. Was the patronage of the Indian Army administered under the old *regime* so as to give universal satisfaction and contentment? Yet to listen to the language of those hostile to the arrangements, which bring them under the power of the Horse Guards, it would be supposed that favouritism and jobbery were the exclusive attributes of the British Commander-in-chief-ship.

Enough is generally known of the forthcoming scheme of amalgamation to justify us in noticing, in some detail, a few of its more salient points, and in endeavouring to form an opinion, as to the bearing the scheme is calculated to have upon the interests at stake. We would ask those who may be willing to follow us in our consideration of the measure, to do so in a spirit, as far as possible, removed from querulousness and prejudice; and to judge of it with a due remembrance of the surpassing difficulties with which its framers have had to contend, and of the imperative necessity which has hampered them, of hitting off the just medium between liberality to individuals, and due regard to the embarrassed state of the public finances.

First let us see how the proposed scheme is likely to affect the European non-commissioned officers, and the rank and file of the Army.

The men of the Artillery, of the Cavalry, and of the existing Infantry regiments of all three Presidencies will be called upon to volunteer for the corresponding branches of the British Army *with a bounty*. It may be reasonably expected that the great majority of the soldiery will accept such an offer without hesitation, and that the non-contented will be few in number. Those who accept, will of course then become liable for service out of India; but it is understood, we believe, that, for the present at least, the new brigades and regiments will continue to be employed exclusively in India. The Artillery volunteers will be formed into additional brigades of Royal Artillery, fourteen in number, according to some accounts; namely, seven for Bengal, four for Madras and three for Bombay. The Cavalry volunteers will receive numbers in continuation of the existing Cavalry regiments, and the Infantry regiments will (if the number of men of each regiment volunteering be sufficiently considerable,) take their places in continuation of the Infantry of the Line, under the designation of the 101st or Royal Bengal Fusiliers, the 102nd, or Royal Madras Fusiliers, the 103rd or Royal Bombay Fusiliers, and so on. Each regiment

holding at present any distinctive title, as Fusiliers, or Light Infantry, will retain that designation in addition to the number which may fall to it. The men who decline to volunteer will be formed into local battalions of Artillery and Infantry, probably, for each Presidency, and will serve on in India, with all their present privileges and advantages, until the last man dies, or completes his contracted period of service. When it is added, that under the proposed arrangements for the disposal of the officers of the European troops, (to which we shall come presently,) every regiment will retain the greater portion of its existing officers, enough has been said to prove, we think, that the proposed arrangements contain nothing which should render them unacceptable or distasteful to the European soldiery. There may be secret springs and influences at work in the minds of the soldiers, which it is impossible to fathom beforehand, or anticipate, and which may induce them to look coldly on a scheme which, to the uninitiated spectator appears all that is fair and advantageous. All we can say is that we, as dispassionate lookers on, fail to discover any single point, in which the soldiers can consider themselves aggrieved or their interests tampered with, in the projected amalgamation.

Pass we now to those points of the scheme which affect the officers.

Two great features in the scheme as it affects the officers must be first prominently stated. One of these is, that whatever Native troops are hereafter kept up will be placed upon the footing of what are called in India, 'Irregulars,' that is to say, the Native Army will revert to the organization which it enjoyed in the earlier days of its existence, and under which all its greatest achievements were wrought; instead of feebly imitating the organization which long experience has prescribed as best suited for European troops, and which led the Court of Directors, more than sixty years ago, to attach, nominally, some thirty English officers to a native regiment, but in reality about half that number, and then to nullify the authority of that half with folios of rules and regulations. It has been determined to revert to the system which invests with nearly absolute authority a single selected officer, and makes him responsible, with the assistance of three or four subordinates only, for the discipline and efficiency of an entire regiment. It would be foreign to the object we now have in view to discuss the long litigated question of 'Regulars *versus* Irregulars.' It is enough that we note at present the fact, that the Irregulars have carried the day in the Amalgamation scheme, and that our Native Army is to consist henceforth solely of troops organized on that system.

The second point which we desire to note prominently, previous to considering that portion of the scheme which affects the European officers, is, that the existing Regimental and General lists of officers are to be carefully preserved, and kept up for reference and guidance, though the troops themselves have either been swept away, as have been the mutinied regiments, or embodied in a new shape, as is to be the European portion of the army. Thus the claims of all officers, not otherwise provided for under the new regulations, (namely, by transfer to the staff corps, or otherwise as the case may be,) to promotion to the superior grades, will still admit of easy regulation, and the great object held in view of not prejudicing the existing rights of the officers will be carefully ensured. The attention of the reader having been directed to these two preliminary features of the scheme, the way is open to an easier understanding of the measure, in its effects upon the prospects of the European officers of the army.

The most salient feature in the scheme, as it affects the officers, is of course the proposed 'Staff Corps.' It is understood that every officer (including officers of the Royal Army,) now employed *otherwise than regimentally*, will have the option of enrolling himself in the Staff Corps, without examination or probation of any kind. Twelve years' service in the Army, of which four in a staff situation, will entitle officers electing for the Staff Corps now, or entering it hereafter, to receive the substantive rank of Captain. Twenty years' service, of which six in a staff situation, will similarly entitle to the substantive rank of Major: twenty-six years', of which eight in a staff situation, to that of Lieutenant Colonel. But as these periods of service would entitle some officers to receive *two* steps of promotion on entering the Staff Corps, the scheme contains a proviso, that in such cases the second step shall not be attained for two years after the first. An illustration will serve to elucidate the working of the latter arrangement. A, an Officer electing for the Staff Corps, is Captain (regimental) of twenty six years' service, of which (say) eight on the staff. He will enter the Staff Corps as Major, and will not obtain the further grade of Lieutenant Colonel until two years later. We have heard, on good authority, that this proviso was inserted at the special instigation of the India Council, in opposition to the wish of the Duke of Cambridge, who would have given the officer, situated as in the above example, the immediate benefit of the double step.

Officers extra-regimentally employed at the promulgation of the scheme, will not however be compelled to enrol themselves in the Staff Corps. They will have the option of

taking their chance of promotion in their present regiments, in case that course should appear to them more advantageous than accepting the substantive promotion offered in the Staff Corps. In this case, they will not forfeit their appointments, but may retain them irrespectively, in most cases, of the regimental rank they may attain to. For example, suppose A, a Captain of fifteen years' service, on staff employ, is second Captain in his regiment, and has reason to believe, that the senior Captain and Major are only waiting until they have served the requisite number of years, to retire on their pension:—if A, enters the Staff Corps, he knows that he has five years to serve before he will be entitled to the substantive rank of Major, whereas, by refusing the Staff Corps, and retaining the advantages of regimental promotion, he may be a Major (say) in one year. Obviously it is for A's interest, as far as promotion is concerned, to refuse the Staff Corps, though against speedier promotion he has to place the risk of foregoing departmental promotion on the staff, as in future no appointments will be given except to officers of the Staff Corps.

Such, is the outline of the scheme proposed for the first institution of the Staff Corps. It would be premature to criticize very narrowly a project, the more minute details of which are still imperfectly known to us:—but it is impossible not to be struck with the enormous extension given by the proposed plan to the received and ordinary idea of an Army Staff Corps. A more heterogeneous mass of talent and attainments than its ranks will contain, it is impossible to conceive! The most strictly military, and the most purely civil appointments are to be alike filled by officers drawn from the Staff Corps. Whatever the exigency of the state, it will be supplied without difficulty out of the ranks of this most convenient body. But the doubt arises, whether a body so constituted, one half of the members of which will be permanently employed on duties of the most purely civil nature, can ever hope to retain its military character, or to preserve its status as an army Staff Corps. It seems anomalous that service in a purely civil capacity should be rewarded with increased *military* rank in exactly the same ratio as service of a strictly military character:—that, by different routes, the Deputy Commissioner, and the Commandant of Irregular Cavalry for instance, should both be pressing on to the common goal of high military rank. We submit, that, if the scheme contains no such arrangement already, it will be found necessary hereafter to divide the Staff Corps into a civil and a military branch, and to regulate the promotion of the former by

different rules to those which determine the promotion of the latter.

- The Staff Corps will be recruited, it is understood, for the present, partly from the British regiments serving in India, and partly from those Indian officers, who are at the present moment unemployed. Justice, no less than expediency, will demand, that a large share of the early patronage arising from the Staff Corps, should be appropriated to the latter class of officers; who, in the mean time, will, however unwillingly and to their own disadvantage, be drawing their full pay without contributing to the service of the State. As the unemployed Indian officers become, in process of time, absorbed, the Staff Corps will depend entirely upon the British regiments for its supply of recruits. The latter will be chosen, it need not be doubted, by the process of competitive examination; and the first and preliminary qualification will be a certain number of years' service (probably three) in India. Should the candidate succeed in passing the examination, fixed for that branch of the
- Staff Corps to which he aspires, he will be admitted, for a given period, on probation only. The term of probation satisfactorily passed, he will be struck off the rolls of his regiment and his place filled up. The patronage which will thus be created in the British Army will represent, to a certain extent, the patronage enjoyed by the late Court of Directors, and their successors, the Indian Council.

Such being the scheme for the first creation, and future maintenance of the Staff Corps, we are in a position to form a judgment, as to the effect which the amalgamation is likely to have upon the interests of India, and to decide, whether the mournful anticipations of those of us, who saw in the proposed extinction of the local Army, the ruin of our Indian Empire, are likely to be realized. The great argument, it will be recollected, of those who were opposed to amalgamation, was that the supply of officers, permanently connected with, and interested in the country, would be cut off;—that instead of being able to draw upon an inexhaustible mine of civil and military talent, habituated to the country, skilled in its language, versed in the peculiarities of native habit and ways of thought, and kindly disposed to the Indian races, we should have to fall back upon the unsympathizing element of the young officers of British Line regiments, and to look for our future Clives and Lawrences amongst the rollicking revellers of the mess table! But how much of their force do all these objections, so plausible at the time, lose,—nay, how absolutely puerile do they seem, when viewed by the light of the great and carefully constructed scheme

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before us! How theoretical and fanciful objections and difficulties vanish, when opposed by the quiet strength of a practical measure? The Staff Corps, as we have seen, commences by enrolling in its ranks every officer at present extra-regimentally employed. To replace the casualties in the new Corps which the efflux of time will cause, we have, first, a very large reserve (alas, that it must be so!) of officers of the Indian service, who, in the first instance, must remain unemployed;—and, when these have been exhausted, we shall have all the youth and talent of the British Army upon which to draw, to replace casualties, as one by one, and not, be it remembered, by sudden and wholesale cataclysms, they take place. We must have formed a very undue estimate of the advantages offered by employment in the Staff Corps under the new scheme, if they are not great enough to attract an adequate number of competent young British officers to recruit its ranks. But if it be indeed the case that we are mistaken, we feel confident that the career offered by the Staff Corps will attract into the Army a *new class* of officers, who will thankfully avail themselves of the advantages the Staff Corps offers, and be no more deterred by the drawbacks of prolonged banishment from England, and association with the uncongenial races of India, than the class of officers whose successors they will be. Therefore it appears to us, that the anticipated evils of amalgamation must, at all events, be relegated to the next generation, and that, if need be, there will be plenty of time before that, to create a new class of officers, supposing—what is contrary, however, to all present experience,—the existing class of officers to be found in the British regiments should prove unwilling or unfit to enter the ranks of an Indian Staff Corps.

But we must hasten on to notice other salient features of the scheme.

It is known that the officers of the European Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry will receive the option of continuing to serve in their present regiments under the altered condition and designations of the latter, (in which case, of course, they will be eventually liable to serve elsewhere than in India,) or of being transferred to the local battalions of non-contents. The places of any officers of the European forces preferring the latter, as well as of those who may decide to enter the Staff Corps, will be filled up, it is understood, by volunteers from the unemployed Native Infantry Officers. Promotions in the new brigades of Royal Artillery, as well as in the Cavalry and in the new 101st, 102nd, &c. Foot, will continue to be regulated by seniority. Thus the experiment of seniority promotion will have a fair trial in

the Cavalry and Infantry of the British Army, and the result may in the next generation, for anything we can tell, lead to vast modifications in the existing system of purchase, perhaps even to its entire abandonment.

The operation of the amalgamation scheme has yet to be noticed in its bearing on the Engineer corps, and on the Medical Service. Both, it is understood, will be amalgamated with the corresponding branches of the British Army. Both will receive the option of taking their chance of general service elsewhere than in India, or of continuing to serve in India only, with all their existing advantages guaranteed to them. The officers of all arms, who may volunteer for general service, will reckon, as a matter of course, their previous service towards retiring pension; but, henceforth, two years of service out of India will count, it is said, as one only of Indian Service. This is a point upon which we would be understood as reserving any opinion for the present. As we have before had occasion to observe, it is premature to criticize any but the broader features of the scheme, whilst our information as to details is necessarily defective.

Thus far even those most hostile to amalgamation and pre-determined to view the scheme unfavourably, must admit that its terms are favourable and liberal. But it cannot be disguised that after the demands of the Staff Corps, and of the European Troops have been supplied, a very large body of officers will remain, whose prospects, as we understand them, are the reverse of brilliant. The officers for whom employment can be found neither in the Staff Corps, nor with the European battalions will be held available for general duty, whenever and wherever required, with the hope perhaps of being able eventually to obtain entrance into the Staff Corps, under the competitive examination, by which admissions into that Corps are in future to be regulated. Amongst these Officers' will be found, in Bengal particularly, many Lieutenant Colonels, who, in the halcyon days of the native army, could calculate almost with certainty on exercising the command of a Native regiment, with the comfortable addition to the pay of their rank which such employment brought. The irresistible torrent of the mutiny has swept away all but an insignificant number of regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry, and their place has been taken by newly-raised irregular regiments to the command of which regimental Lieutenant Colonels are, by the rules of the service, ineligible. Nor would it indeed be either just or politic to displace in their favour, the generally able class of young men, who have raised and hitherto commanded the new

levies, and to supplant the latter by Lieutenant Colonels advanced in life, to whom the Irregular System is equally strange and distasteful. No one, who has the interests of the service at heart, could desire to see the Lieutenant Colonel of the old Native Infantry school, accustomed to rely on the constant support of his regimental Staff; to see nothing but neatly fitting red coats and forage caps, and to regulate discipline by a mild application of the Articles of War, and standing orders for Infantry, transplanted to the uncongenial soil of a regiment of mixed Sikhs and Affghans, with uncouth tongue, non-regulation beards, and unsightly mud-coloured uniform, located—to complete his discomfort,—in one of the houseless camps of the Derajāt Frontier! The subject is not one for jesting, yet we may be pardoned for saying, that the surprize of both officer and men, if they found themselves thus suddenly brought into the relation of commander and commanded, would, probably, be about equally balanced. In the Madras and Bombay Armies and indeed in the few remaining regular regiments of Bengal, the hardship inflicted upon the older officers by amalgamation, and the proposed conversion of regular into irregular regiments, will be less. The Lieutenant Colonels now commanding regular regiments will probably retain their position, and be trusted to superintend the conversion of their regiments into irregulars. The conversion will doubtless proceed very gradually, and will perhaps hardly be fully accomplished for eight or ten years to come.

We have naturally considered the case of the elders first, but the case of the unemployed juniors is not a whit less grievous. It may be said, with a certain amount of justice, in the case of the juniors of the Bengal Army, that in the cornucopia of appointments, which has been emptied over their heads since the Mutiny, it is next to impossible that any really deserving men should have failed to secure some sort or other of extra-regimental employment;—that the merit must be hidden indeed which has not had the opportunity of coming to the surface, during the stirring events of the last four years. But it must not be forgotten, that wounds, sickness, and other causes have operated in many instances, during the period in question, to withdraw most deserving men from the field of competition. It would be a reproach, indeed, to those who administer the patronage of the Army and of the country, if, when the new arrangements come into force, some hero of the ridge at Delhi, or of the feeble ramparts of Lucknow, should find himself consigned to the oblivion of an unemployed list, because wounds or sickness may have withdrawn him temporarily from the competitive struggle.

We are confident however that the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief, will avoid all reasonable ground of cavil at the forthcoming scheme of amalgamation, and the obloquy of permitting officers with such unquestionable claims to consideration, to vegetate unemployed under the cold shade of neglect.

It is difficult to estimate with anything like exactitude, the probable number of officers for whom employment will not be found under the new scheme. It may be feared, however, that it will be very considerable. When every attempt to provide employment in the ordinary way for all unemployed officers possessed of the requisite capacity has failed, it may well receive the consideration of the government, whether it would not be both fairer to individuals, and more advantageous to the public to purchase out (either by increased pensionary inducement, or by liberal offers of land in Australia or India,) those who will otherwise remain probably for years, a heavy incubus upon the State. We would advocate the early employment, if necessary, of an able actuary to determine this question. What a sum might have been saved to the State, if the purchase out of officers willing to resign their claims on the service, had commenced three years ago!

We must now close this necessarily very imperfect notice of the grand scheme about to be promulgated. With certain drawbacks, which were doubtless inevitable, its provisions appear to us decidedly, as a whole, beneficial to the service, and conceived in a liberal and kindly spirit. Unquestionably the position of the unemployed class will be very grievous, but the scheme may contain details for ameliorating it which are not yet made public. It must be borne in mind too, that this class is not *created* by the amalgamation, but that it is already in existence. Indeed a striking peculiarity of the whole scheme is, how very slight is the measure of change which it will introduce. What changes it does involve are often little more than nominal, and affect designation rather than actual position and prospects. But even a change of designation is in certain cases worth something. However much some officers may affect to despise a name, few, we believe, would desire to revert to the title of 'the Honourable Company's Army.' The name of 'Native Infantry' stinks in the nostrils of most of us. There are not many officers, we take it, in Bengal at least, who desire to perpetuate, even in name, their connection with that once highly esteemed branch of the Army. The days when such a connection was deemed honourable, and a source of just pride, passed away when 'Native Infantry' became almost a synonym for mutineers. Such

feelings of course do not extend to those who claim to belong to the time-honoured corps of Indian Artillery, or to the Indian European regiments;—yet even the officers of those arms will not, if we judge them rightly, despise the designations they are hereafter destined to bear, or deem it otherwise than a gratifying change to add to the title which is still to identify them with a past order of things, the distinction of 'Royal.'

So much as a mere matter of sentiment. But we believe that with these nominal advantages, more solid ones are also mixed up. The impending affiliation of the Indian Artillery and Engineer corps on the corresponding branches of the Royal service, seems likely to bring with it a very considerable amount of promotion, to the higher ranks at least of the former services. The same result, we anticipate, will attend the new organization of the European Infantry. Then as to the Staff Corps:—to be assured of the substantive rank of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel after twelve, twenty and twenty-six years' service respectively, even though the pay of the respective grades be, as is asserted, somewhat reduced, is an unquestionable improvement upon the glorious uncertainty which attended promotion to those ranks under the former order of things. The promotion offered may not be brilliant, but it will be sufficient to attract into the service that class of men, who enter the army for a career; that class, in fact, of which it was the boast of the Indian Army to be composed. The proposed Indian Staff corps is destined, we firmly believe, to be hereafter the grandest body of officers to be found in the world. In its first institution it will hardly deserve the name of a *corps d'élite*, because admission into its ranks will have been the result in many instances of mere interest,—in others of chance and a favourable concatenation of circumstances,—in a few only of legitimate selection and proved ability. But every year the composition of its ranks should improve, as entrance becomes the reward of high attainments and peculiar capacity, and it must eventually take the place in public estimation which it will deserve, as being composed of the most eminent men which the military profession, under the most favourable conditions, can produce. There is infinite grandeur in the idea of a corps which shall contribute from its ranks to the public service every sort and description of talent, for which a demand may arise;—which will manufacture and hold available for use, the proconsul who is to rule a province, the general who is to lead an army, the man of science whose discoveries may influence the future of the entire empire.

Since the above was written, the scheme has appeared. It will be seen that our anticipations have in almost every instance

proved correct, and that the great measure is even more complete and more considerate towards unemployed officers than we had dared to hope. We notice too the publication of a retiring scheme drawn up by the Commission, which, if sanctioned; even partially, by the Home Government, cannot fail to lighten the difficulties of the Executive, to place a charmed weapon in the hands of the military reformer, and to commend this word amalgamation even to those to whom it has hitherto been most repugnant.

ART. VII.—*Eastern Bengal and its Railways.*

EASTERN BENGAL extends from the slopes of the Himalaya mountains below Darjeeling in the North, to the head of the Bay of Bengal in the South, or roughly is enclosed within the 22nd and 27th parallels of North latitude.

The Eastern boundary, commencing at Chittagong, becomes interlaced with the hills which limit the empire of Burmah, and stretches out through the extensive valleys of Upper and Lower Assam, as far as the gorge in the Himalaya mountains, through which the great river Burhampooter descends from Thibet.

The Western limit follows the course of the rivers Hooghly and Bhagiruttee, and passes through Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Dinagapore up to Darjeeling.

Its length from North to South is about 350 miles; its breadth 300 miles. The total area of this country is about 100,000 square miles. Comparing this extent of country with the British Isles, which contain 120,000 square miles, it will be seen that Eastern Bengal is a country of no mean proportions.

The population, estimated at fifteen millions, may be looked upon as a simple, rural population, covering the cultivated area of the country very evenly, and but moderately condensed in towns, save in the metropolis of the Bengal Presidency. Per square mile, it is perhaps the most densely populated country of equal extent on the face of the globe.

'Eastern Bengal' is certainly a most fertile and prolific tract of land, and is suited to the most economical modes of cultivation. Watered by the two great rivers, Burhampooter and Ganges, and supplied with innumerable tributary rivers traversing the country like net work, there are abundant means at all points for irrigation, and a most extensive system of water carriage at all seasons of the year for the usual country boats. The products of the country are not surpassed either in quantity or quality by any District under the Tropics, and their importance is shewn by the large revenue returns.

The dwellings of the rural population consist chiefly of bamboo and mud huts, covered with a thick thatch of leaves or rice straw, and are usually to be found deeply ensconced in the jungle, and ordinarily not visible to travellers. This privacy is looked upon as of great importance, as it often shields a family from obnoxious intrusion. The Bengalees are an effeminate and indolent people; they are ingenious and handy workers, and though

slow in movement, they are nevertheless apt at learning. Their moral habits are however degraded. Cunning, deceit, and sensuality, are amongst their characteristics, and, as a natural consequence, where immorality predominates, courage is at a low ebb. Yet it is impossible to imagine the whole mass of the nation to be utterly void of some particle of that honesty of purpose, that conscientiousness of thought and feeling, which may be found even among those who do not rank in the highest position, either morally or intellectually, and education and example, combined with great firmness, may, in generations to come, yet present us with a community recognising the authority of moral principles; while, among the more cultivated intellects, there is even now no want of a certain shrewdness and quickness of thought, which offer materials for still better things.

To facilitate description, 'Eastern Bengal' may be arranged into three great territorial tracts.

The District lying to the south and west of the Ganges, including the District to the east of Calcutta and the great Soonderbunds circuit, comprises the first tract.

The Soonderbunds stretch across the head of the Bay of Bengal, a distance of 260 miles, and present, at the Sandheads, a low swampy country and a dense forest for 50 miles inland. Beyond this, cultivation first makes its appearance. There are nine principal streams and several tidal estuaries to the sea front. The portion of the country which has been cleared is cultivated chiefly with rice, and is densely populated, but in the forests and on the extensive swamps there are but few inhabitants on account of the numbers of wild beasts and venomous reptiles, and the malaria which at the end of the rainy season is very deadly. The Soonderbunds is a tract of much interest, and offers many subjects for contemplation. The water channels afford an excellent, though circuitous, line for the navigation of country boats, which ascend and descend from the open and more cultivated parts of Eastern Bengal; but they are full of danger for the navigation of steamers or other large craft. The country is mostly covered with crops of rice and oil seeds, and open pastures, studded with beautiful groves of trees, which shelter and nourish the cattle belonging to the many villages that stud this interesting locality.

The Second Tract consists of the Districts lying between the Ganges and the Burhampooter, extending Northwards to the foot of the Himalayas. The character of the country is similar to the cleared portion adjoining the Soonderbunds; it is however a slightly higher tract of country, and is specially suited for the growth of fibrous plants, for which the neighbourhood of

Rungpore is greatly celebrated. The population inhabiting this tract of territory is scarcely less dense than in the first tract, whilst the general appearance of the country, always flat, is much the same as in the other parts of 'Eastern Bengal.'

The Districts lying East of the Burhampooter, including Dacca and Sylhet constitute the Third Tract. This tract presents greater resources than either the first or second tract. The greater portion of its surface is occupied by the rich plains of Mymensing and Sylhet through which the river Soongla meanders. The old channel of the Burhampooter, now nearly dry, together with other old beds of alluvion, wind along by Dacca from the Eastward.

This Tract affords a great variety of produce, such as cotton, sugar-cane, rice and other grains, together with potatoes, plantains and oranges. These last are supplied to Calcutta in greater quantities from here than from any other quarter. The Eastern hills offer a large assortment of agricultural produce and mineral wealth. In the high lands are obtained lime and coals, besides valuable timber, and the district produces tea of the best quality. In the pastures and jungles are elephants and buffaloes, valuable to India as beasts of burden, and, to commerce the latter are also valuable for their hides. This tract is therefore one of vast importance to the general resources of India. Excluding for the moment, any description of the great valley of Assam, the occupied portions of the three tracts contain together about 35,000 square miles, and it has been estimated that no less than 425 human beings are located on every square mile, giving nearly fifteen millions of inhabitants for working the internal resources of the country.

Viewing the three great tracts together, they certainly offer the finest field in India for the investment of capital and skilful enterprise. On the east and north limits of 'Eastern Bengal' are two 'Hill stations,' Cherapoonjæ and Darjeeling. Each of these stations is a Sanatorium useful in alleviating the effects of the fierce and trying climate of Bengal. To all invalids, and especially to European constitutions, these stations are most valuable, and although at present hard to reach, they will be made accessible to the metropolis within a very few years.

In contemplating the picture of the country that has been described, it is painful to reflect how backward in civilisation is this important province of our Indian possessions. Although in its present undeveloped state it produces a greater proportion of revenue than any other tract of country in India of equal extent, it may be said to be enveloped in the accumulated darkness of past ages. There are no roads of importance, no appliances of modern civilisation, and the transit of produce is

effected by the most primitive expedients. Through its length and breadth it is limited to a tedious water communication in boats of unsafe and cumbersome construction. The staple of the export trade consists in the raw produce of the country, and the manufactures of Indigo and Silk. The imports are comparatively trifling, when such a vast population is taken into account, and much judicious management will be required before the consumption of English manufactures attains its due proportions.

It has been previously observed that the population of 'Eastern Bengal' was not condensed or concentrated in large towns, with the one great exception of the Metropolis, nor is there any reason why it should be. The elements of its commerce are solely agricultural, and differ therefore materially from trade in England. The produce of the country is collected in certain Bazars for further distribution, and the towns of Dacca, Rungpore, Mymensing, together with the marts of Serajgunge, Jessore, Naraingunge, Sylhet, Assam, &c., constitute the chief resorts of traders and emporia of the resources of the country; but they are simply warehouses for exchange with Calcutta, and not centres of industry such as we possess at Manchester, Leeds, and innumerable other towns in England. Some few wealthy European and native traders however have established houses of their own, and transmit their own produce direct to Calcutta. The working people are ill directed by the zemindars or native landlords. The native mahajuns or merchants, together with the smaller traders and boatmen, have all endeavoured more or less to oppress or cheat them.

The great valley of Assam, which lies to the extreme east of Bengal, extends a length of four hundred miles, with a breadth varying from forty to seventy miles, and comprising an area of about 22,000 square miles, through which the Burhampooter River flows. Mr. Barry, of Serajgunge, has fully described* the great value of this district as a field for mercantile speculation, on account of its great resources. Coal, lime, and iron have been discovered in several places, also gold and precious stones, and several amber and salt mines. Timber is found in the forests that line the Burhampooter. There are several extensive tracts of tea and other cultivated land, though the country is generally swampy. The people however are idle, and being abstemious are without any sufficient incentive to labor: the consequence is, there are immense tracts of excellent land lying waste, that

* Memorandum on the Province of Assam, published by C. B. Lewis, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1858.

might be most profitably cultivated. Wild elephants, tigers, leopards, bears, buffaloes, hogs, and game of all sorts abound, and the greater part of the country is in a truly primeval state.

It has been already mentioned that 'Eastern Bengal' possesses, in her many rivers, a complete system of water communication. These rivers are at present the only channels of communication that serve for the transport of merchandise; they are very circuitous and dangerous, and the tediousness of a journey up and down can be fully understood by those only who have had the fortune to endure it. Roads there are none, save near Calcutta and around some of the Civil Stations. There are a few miles of half-made roads, formed in a desultory unsystematic way, connected with the Indigo Factories, but no road that can be depended upon for a journey of twenty miles without interruption. Wheeled carriages, other than bullock hackeries, are therefore not to be met with at any distance from Calcutta, save at the Civil Stations, and the consequent loss of time in the transit of goods and in travelling generally, brings with it a corresponding loss of money. Roads therefore are the great want—good and substantial roads—and for the complete development of the country, railroads, as well as the common roads, must be provided. A well defined system of roads is the key to the prosperity of the country.

It has been estimated that about one half of the produce traffic, between the interior of this side of India and Calcutta, is obtained from within the districts of 'Eastern Bengal,' and that the largest portion of it is for British or foreign consumption. The present Eastern Bengal Railway was projected in 1856, and the computations concerning the amount of tonnage it was likely would be carried, were based on the returns of the Eastern Canals, from which it was fully demonstrated that upwards of one million tons weight of produce were transmitted annually to the port of Calcutta from the districts of 'Eastern Bengal,' and that at least forty thousand tons of imports were distributed over the same territory as return cargoes. From a further calculation it was presumed that the railway would obtain the transmission of 419,560 tons per annum. The promoters of the railway speculated on taking £379,210 per annum as gross receipts, from goods and passengers, when the line was completed to Dacca and Narraingunge which would produce a dividend of 8 per cent upon a capital of £3,000,000 the estimated cost, including the rolling stock, management, &c.

It may be observed that in so complex a river system as the Gangetic Delta, it was a question of no small importance to decide carefully in the first instance, the route of the trunk

line, so as to admit of the extension lines being connected advantageously hereafter. By a reference to the map inserted at page 168, it will be seen how judiciously the main line has been laid out for the aggregation of the traffic that will be brought down the various streams which traverse the country.

Such a system of railway as is here sketched out for the full development of the resources of the country is most essential, and the Government, it is presumed, will bear this always in mind, when deciding on the concessions hereafter to be made, from time to time, to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company; without it the resources of the various districts of the country cannot be thoroughly opened out. How strongly this is really felt by the authorities, may be understood by a short account of the steps they have already taken, and the progress that has been made with the Eastern Bengal Railway undertaking.

So far back as the year 1853, it was clearly perceived that the traffic of 'Eastern Bengal' required that a railway should be carried into that quarter. The question was brought under the consideration of the Government, before even the experimental line of the East India Railway Company to Raneegunge was tried, and Major Greathead, then a very young officer in the Bengal Engineers, was instructed to examine and report on the line of common road between Calcutta and Dacca via Jessore. To his report we owe the first outline of a plan for a line of railway from Calcutta eastwards; for not only did he distinctly point out that a railway could be had at but a trifling more cost than the ordinary road he was sent to report on, but he also broadly discussed the question of the amount of traffic that might be expected. This at once placed within the reach of an enterprising merchant of Calcutta, Mr. W. F. Fergusson, an amount of information which enabled him to organize a set of promoters in England; soon after which, the present company for carrying out the undertaking was formed.

In the early part of 1856, when a favourable opportunity occurred for putting forth a prospectus of the railway, and testing its merits upon the London money market, the avidity with which the shares were taken up was perfectly astonishing. The capital for the first section of the line was put down at one Million Sterling, but applications were actually made amounting to upwards of 15 Million Pounds Sterling, and the requisite deposit per share was collected for preliminary expences. This glut of applicants was weeded by the Directors, and the share list purged and reduced to the amount of capital required, and the deposit money for the surplus was returned to the applicants. In this way a singularly good, and

solvent list of shareholders was obtained. The Company thus got the capital subscribed on the condition of a guarantee being given of a fixed interest of 5 per cent., to be paid to the subscribers by the Government of India or the Court of Directors.

The East India Court of Directors looked carefully at the project, and would give no guarantee before the route of the line was definitively settled, or some favourable opinion expressed by the local Government of India. At this stage, it was thought expedient to send out an Engineer to Bengal to make surveys, and such preliminary investigations as would eventually be required; and during the latter end of 1856 and the early part of 1857, the country was explored and surveyed by Mr. Purdon, an Engineer, who was despatched from England for this special service. The plans and estimates, together with the reports of that gentleman, were duly submitted to the Government through Colonel Baker, and were fully discussed by the present Governor General in Council. The main trunk line from Calcutta to Dacca being considered the best that could be devised, was determined upon, and a recommendation was sent home to Government, and the East India Board to concede it to the present Company with a guarantee of 5 per cent. on the Capital required for its construction.

It was in June 1857 that the favourable opinion of the Government of India reached England, and with this despatch also came the lamentable intelligence of the mutiny of the Native Bengal Army; yet such was the reliance placed on the British strength in India, that within one month after the opinion of the Government of India was received, the concession of the line was given, and the guarantee of 5 per cent. granted on the capital conditionally subscribed. An Act of Parliament was next obtained within three months following, fully incorporating the Company.

Many of our readers can remember the impression the Mutiny in India made on Parliament, and how manfully the old Court of Directors permitted the Bill for the construction of the Eastern Bengal Railway to be proceeded with at a time when the very existence of the East India Company was in jeopardy; and how Members and Noble Lords smiled as the Bill proceeded, wondering at the revived energy of the Court of Directors during their throes of dissolution. The Act received the Royal assent in August 1857, when the direful news from India was at its culminating point. The promoters soon discovered that the confidence in Indian Securities of the public in England was shaken, and they refrained from making a call on the Shareholders for funds to enable the undertaking to proceed,

The Court of Directors participated in this very reasonable and just apprehension, and it was mutually agreed to let the subject rest until better times.

The baneful effects of the Mutiny on the public generally, extended itself to the promoters of the undertaking, and neither the Railway Board nor the Court of Directors had sufficient confidence to avail themselves of the opportunity of a year's leisure for completing the plans and particulars for the works, and the loss of this time was the cause of serious detriment to the Company. In the month of May 1858, when the cheering news from India of the rapid suppression of the Insurrection began to enliven their prospects, the Board found the old East India Court of Directors swept away, and a new order of things established at the India House. The confidence of the Shareholders then revived somewhat, although a Committee of the House of Commons was receiving the most conflicting and extraordinary evidence, that ever was taken, upon the causes of delay in the execution of the Railways of India. The Board now requested their Consulting Engineer, the late Mr. Brunel, to take steps for letting the construction of their works proceed, and they again engaged the services of Mr. Purdon, and appointed him Chief Engineer of the line in India.

In the mean time the evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee on the causes of delay in the construction of Indian Railways had created a strong feeling in England, that it was most advisable to get some of the great English contractors to execute the works, and bring their experienced and trained hands and familiar appliances, to bear on the prosecution of the Indian lines. Mr. Purdon was accordingly instructed, under Mr. Brunel's direction, to procure designs and prepare a comprehensive contract for letting the whole of the works of the Eastern Bengal Railway between Calcutta and Kooshtee, and the Board at once advertised the letting of the work by Public Tender, with a view of commencing active operations during the ensuing cold season in Bengal. This it appears was a very difficult task to perform in four months. It was nevertheless successfully accomplished, and Mr. Purdon, with a staff of Engineers, started for India in September 1858, immediately after the Board had accepted the Tender of Messrs. Brassey, Paxton, and Wythes. They arrived in Calcutta on the 1st November 1858, and lost no time in communicating with the Government.

The executive staff now experienced some of those difficulties in their surveys, which might be expected on commencing a new work in a foreign country, where their transactions were not facilitated by official routine. The Engineers of the local

Government were furnished by the Home Authorities with the details of the contract that had been made with Messrs. Brassey, Paxton, and Wythes. The conditions of the contract and the comprehensive specification puzzled them at first, because they knew that no working surveys of the line had as yet been made, though a preliminary survey had been obtained by Mr. Purdon, and that the Government had not even sanctioned the precise route of the line. The time allowed for the execution of the works also appeared to them marvellously short. The Engineers of Government in India were not familiar with such contracts, though of every day occurrence in England. Difficulties occurred, and doubts were entertained. The contract was said to be a very bad arrangement, and it was observed how much better it would have been if, instead of wasting a whole year in England contriving such a contract, the Company's Engineer had returned at the close of 1857, and made the proper working plans of the line, from data that could be at once understood by the local Government. But in fact all this was impossible, for India was at the time in rebellion.

The chief items of expence of any Railway in Lower Bengal, such as the Permanent way, the Ballast, the Earthwork, the principal Bridges, Stations, and fencing, can be calculated with sufficient accuracy from a general survey of the line, and it makes little difference, (there are of course exceptional cases) whether the line be carried a few chains to one side or the other of the assumed line of route. The amount of all the items can be so nearly determined by an experienced Engineer, that an approximate set of quantities may be got out to form the basis of a perfectly sound contract, which shall provide for adjusting the gross sum according to the ultimate ascertained quantities of the work when executed. In all sound contracts, provision is made to adjust the original estimate with the actual outlay, and this adjustment is made by a comparative view of the quantities which formed the basis of the original estimate, with those actually found to have been executed at the completion of the works. The excess or deficiency of works of any kind being added to or deducted from the original estimate.

Obtaining possession of the land for the formation of the Railway was a tedious operation, and although the contractors were to have commenced work as early as December 1858, they were unable to do so before the month of October following, as the land could not be made over except at a few disconnected places until that period. Next came the Contractors' difficulties with respect to a fair adjustment of wages for the coolies, who withheld their service

for a time, with a view of forcing the Contractors to pay exorbitant rates, believing them to be bound under any circumstances to a fixed period for completing the works. Time however smoothed in a measure these difficulties, and the Contractor's staff being shortly afterwards organized and distributed over the line, they commenced work in earnest. Shipments from England arrived, and the materials were transported speedily, and fortunately without loss, on to the various divisions or districts, as they are called, of the line. A severe scrutiny on the part of Government was in the meanwhile carried on, on account of the doubts still entertained of the soundness of the conditions and stipulations of the contract.

After this brief sketch of a part of the history of the proceedings of the Eastern Bengal Railway Company up to the time of the arrival of the Engineering staff, and the present Contractor and his staff in India for the actual prosecution of the works, the present state of the undertaking should be described.

It appears from a statement which has been obtained from the Chief Engineer, that up to the present time 66 per cent. of the Earthwork for the whole 110 miles is done, and 21 per cent. of the brickwork; 16 per cent. of the ballast is burned, and about 40 per cent is ready for firing, and the materials for laying the greater portion of the permanent way are upon the ground. In addition to the above works the iron bridges are in a very forward state. It may therefore be confidently anticipated, if all still continues to go on smoothly, that the 110 miles of line will be finished and ready for traffic, before the rains of next year, or in May 1862.

Fifty-six millions of pounds sterling represent the anticipated cost of railway works in India already conceded to the fostering care of Joint Stock Companies; this amount is to be invested with the Government of India at a guaranteed rate of interest of five per cent. per annum, with a prospect of course of an additional rate of interest from a dividend. This is indeed a grand step in advance for India; and should Indian Railways become as remunerative as they are popular, it may be confidently predicted that as much as one hundred millions of pounds sterling can be easily raised in England, and be beneficially laid out on Indian Railways.

The Eastern Bengal Railway Company has a concession to construct a Railway from Calcutta to the River Ganges at Koochtee, and ultimately to Dacca, together with a branch to Jessore. The Company have taken power under an Act of incorporation to increase their Capital to £6,000,000, and to make arrangements for the construction of at least 600 miles of Rail-

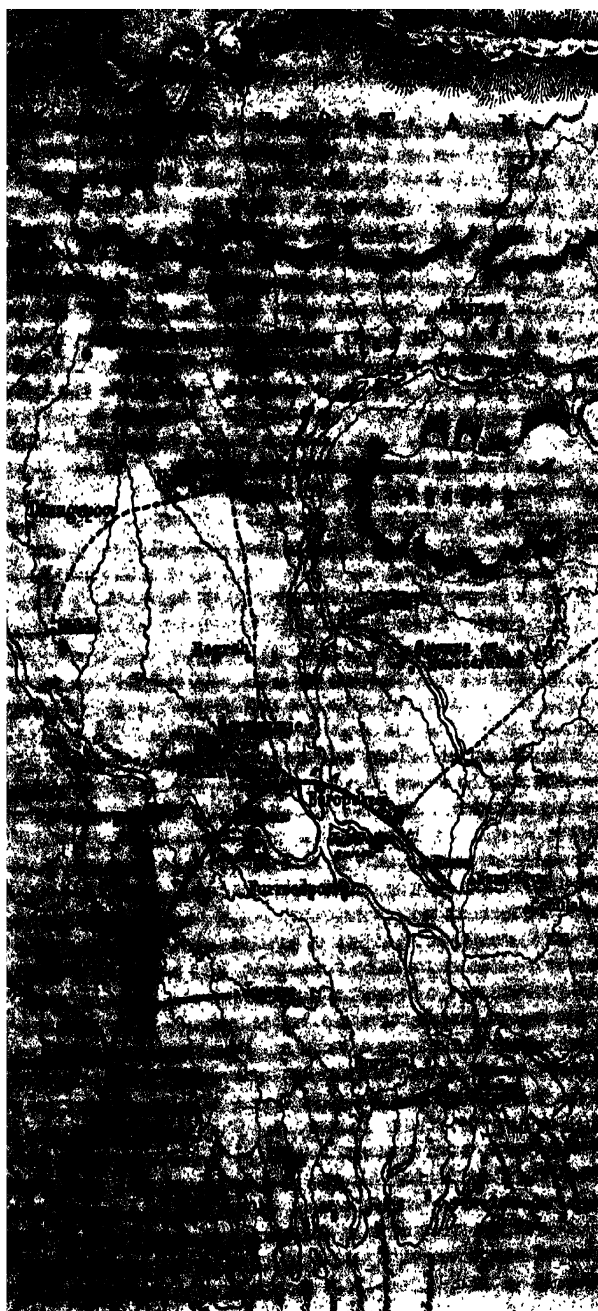
way. Sufficient capital to construct only the first section of 110 miles from Calcutta to Kooshtee has at present been raised.

A small map here introduced will shew the line conceded to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company; the black line being the parent stem of the system of communication which it is thought will be required. The dotted lines and the annexed table will shew the lines that evidently appear necessary to develop, if not to complete, the railway system in 'Eastern Bengal.' These lines may be constructed under the powers already conceded to the Railway Company by their present Act of Parliament, subject to the capital being guaranteed by the Indian Government.

	<i>Miles.</i>
0 Main trunk line between Calcutta and Kooshtee,	110
1 Extension of the Main line from Kooshtee to Naraingunge via Dacca,	106
2 From Shazadpore to Rungpore,	116
3 From Rungpore to near Darjeeling along the course of the Teesta river,	100
4 From Rungpore to opposite Rajmahal via Dinagepore and Malda, to connect the North West with the Eastern Bengal system of lines,	110
5 From Rungpore to the foot of the Assam Valley,	50
6 From off the Dacca extension line at Dhumroy to Sylhet,	120
Total,	712

This amount of railway mileage appears to be as requisite to accommodate 'Eastern Bengal' as the 1,414 miles of railway already conceded to the East Indian Railway Company, is for the North West, since its population, produce, and natural resources are no less in proportion. How these extension lines (all of them abutting on the main line or trunk), already conceded to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company, are to be carried out, is a problem which our rulers will have to solve, if the resources of this side of India are to be developed: and to the discussion of this problem we shall briefly address ourselves.

It appears certain that no better course can be adopted for carrying out the extension Railways, than that of accepting the medium of the Companies already incorporated; because, as was most truly observed by the Governor General of India at the recent opening of the Railway to Rajmahal;—'Though the Government were most anxious to give encouragement to the investment of English Capital in India, and however sincere their desire, that encouragement would fail unless they could prove by the establishment of Companies that there is scope for remunerative employment of such Capital in India, particularly in Bengal. Without such assurance, capitalists will not





'be induced to aid in such enterprises, however useful in their 'ultimate results.'

Now if we are to look forward to the construction of 712 miles of Railway in Eastern Bengal, and in like proportion through other important provinces and districts of India, it is difficult to conceive by what other means the money can be raised; for although the Government might possibly raise a loan of a few millions for the purpose of making a limited number of miles of Railway, it is quite improbable they could raise money enough, in addition to the heavy loans required for the other purposes of the State, to construct the many miles that are required. The House of Commons would scarcely sanction such a proceeding, if indeed it were feasible, as the English Market would thereby be deluged with Indian State securities to the depreciation of all English stock. It would however be quite otherwise if the Joint Stock Company principle of raising capital were judiciously made use of, because, where private enterprise can have scope, the direct action of Government is seldom or ever desirable. But putting aside any question of whether it is abstractedly better to borrow in the form of a direct loan to Government, or indirectly by encouraging the investment of Joint Stock Capital; the former course can only be practicable to a very limited extent, neither is the latter system capable of any great extension, unless it can be shewn to afford remunerative employment for the capital invested; but if it be carried out by degrees, so as not to overdraw the resources that can be spared in England, at any one time for such purposes, every mile of Railway here mentioned may be constructed in comparatively few years, provided the different sections of the lines be taken up in succession, and laid before the English public in a skilful and judicious manner, and under a Government guarantee.

The raising of money for Indian Railways, through the medium of Joint Stock Companies, was not adopted in the first instance, chiefly because it enabled the capital to be more conveniently raised. There was another very important reason for it, namely, the deficiency of the requisite executive machinery at the disposal of the Government, for the construction of the lines, which thus would have to be entrusted to officers in the service of the State, who would have to be self-trained to their duties; whilst Joint Stock Companies on the other hand could bring together experienced men from England and other countries. It may be argued that the Government also could engage the same experienced Staff of Engineers and other Officers, but this does not appear so certain. The State could not so easily get them together as Joint Stock Companies, because Civil Engineers in

general, have a dislike to military control '*per se*,' as it does not permit them to exercise that freedom of thought in the preparation of their designs, or the supervision of their works, to which they have been accustomed. It is no small privilege to India to possess, as she does at the present time, that diversity of Engineering thought and talent in the prosecution of her railway works, which has been introduced by the agency of Joint Stock Companies, and it would be unwise if India were not to avail herself of that skill and experience, which the satisfactory construction and completion of English and European Railways, places at her disposal. It might also be made advantageous to the Indian Government, as a school to train the officers and servants who are in her pay, since the process of making an experienced Railway Engineer is not so easy as it is at times imagined, and it is always an expensive and tedious operation. There are many clever and talented Engineers to be found in the service of the Indian Government, but it is hardly possible that they should possess that experience in those numerous details of Railway practice, which go to form the Railway Civil Engineer.

It has been previously mentioned that the present concession to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company extends beyond the Ganges to the Burhampooter and to Dacca, but that the capital actually subscribed is only for a section of Railway between Calcutta and Kooshtee on the Ganges, a distance of about 110 miles. There is no guarantee as yet given for the extension capital, and no subscription contract is as yet entered into for raising the money. Now at first sight it might appear that nothing is easier than for the Government of India to guarantee 5 per cent. upon the extension capital, issue the stock, and raise the money forthwith. But a little reflection will shew that there is considerable difficulty in the way, the shares being already at 10 per cent. discount.* In the face of this fact, no extension capital can be expected to be subscribed for at the present time, unless the shares can be obtained at a still greater discount, or unless a higher and more tempting rate of interest be guaranteed. Such a state of things practically precludes the possibility of raising Joint Stock Capital for further extensions, until the project appears likely to be more remunerative than the 5 per cent. guaranteed, and also perhaps until a period of more eager desire for investment in Indian Securities is manifested by the London Market than at present exists.

* The cause of this depression is believed to be owing to the fact that the merits of the undertaking have not as yet been sufficiently notified and explained to the public.

In order then to float any extension shares, it is evident that the portions of Railway previously constructed must be made in the first instance remunerative; the management of the Company's affairs must in like manner be maintained in good repute; Capitalists will then in all probability be found to take up the stock from time to time, when judiciously offered in the market. What at present is most necessary for the Railway Boards is, to collect into a well considered compendium or pamphlet all such reports and statistics, estimates and prospects of traffic of the various lines, which should be circulated amongst the proprietors and the public under the sanction of Government, to enable people to judge of the merits of the various projects. The publication of these in one volume for all the Indian lines would give a great impulse to those investments, and be likely to produce a large accession of capital for these undertakings at the earliest period that it is desirable to obtain it. When the parent stem is extended to Dacca, the line to Rungpore may be put forward, and if guaranteed will be taken up with as much avidity as the original share capital of the Company, if but good faith and steadiness of purpose in keeping up the reputation of the Company, be maintained.

It may be observed that in dealing with so difficult a subject as the raising of Railway Capital, many collateral points will naturally arise, which require to be specially met; for instance, an unusually sterile tract of country over which little or no traffic can be obtained; or an expensive bridge over a great river such as the Ganges at Kooshtee; or some sudden depression in the money market; or the reputation of the Company itself suffering from assumed, or actual bad management. All or any of these causes might disturb the proceedings of the Company to such an extent, that they would have great difficulty in raising capital. To meet such circumstances it might be permitted to the Company to borrow on debentures, a sum equal to one third the Capital subscribed, so as to counteract and tide over some of these temporary difficulties, and it might also be desirable for the Government itself to assist and relieve the Company from some of the very heavy works, and perhaps to undertake directly the construction of the line across any commercially unproductive tract of country, so that every link should be made complete by leasing the Government works to the Company. The Government might be enabled in more prosperous times to borrow for such purposes on the securities of the Revenue of India, in addition to guaranteeing the share Capital of the Company; but whether encouragement and positive assistance on the part of Government are given or not, it

is essential that the fullest control of the expenditure and management of the Company's undertaking should be vested in the Government.

This leads to the discussion of another very important question already dealt with partially, viz. the relation between the Government and the Company, and the powers of each. Considering the varied character of Joint Stock Companies in general the utmost influence and care of the Home Authorities should be exercised in obtaining a good Directory in the first instance, and afterwards maintaining it. The approval by the Indian Secretary of State of each Director should be made a *sine quâ non* by Act of Parliament. The Home Government should have power to dismiss any Director, although the shareholders should still retain the prerogative of electing their own Directors. It is evident the Government have a large stake in the undertaking, since they not only give the land, but also the guarantee of 5 per cent. and it may be generally remarked in respect to all Railways that inefficient Directors do much mischief, and often seriously impede the progress of the undertaking, which must not be looked upon as being but a private speculation, but also a grand national work.

It is doubtless a delicate and difficult problem to determine where the interests of the shareholders are in opposition to the representatives of the State; but it appears self evident that none but well known men should be admitted to sit at the Board of Direction,—men who being respectable in social standing and commercial position would draw around them respect, and bring with them a connection that would facilitate the raising of capital; men who, possessed of good sense, would never attempt to frustrate the national object and jeopardise the general prosperity of the undertaking as a whole; men who would carry with them the confidence of the body of Shareholders, and who possess sufficient strength of mind to enable them to combat successfully the elements of disturbance, suspicions, and of improper interference and combinations, made against the Board of Directors and governing authorities whenever they occurred. It must not be supposed that there is extraordinary difficulty in procuring such Boards of Direction. Gentlemen of the stamp required are found ready to enter respectable Directions of great Companies, such as the Indian Railways are likely to become, and such Gentlemen are actually found to sit upon the Direction of our Indian Railways, and it should be as much an honor to sit at one of the Boards as it is to be a Director of the Bank of England, or as it was to be Director of the late East India Company.

Having secured the best possible Board of Directors, next comes the degree in which the Government should exercise its control. There is but the faintest possible analogy between the constitution of an Indian Railway Company and the position of the ordinary Railway Companies in England. The one goes on without any supervision on the part of the State beyond the Act of Parliament for the guidance of the Railway Company. The other requires the constant and vigilant supervision of the Local Government and its Officials, to prevent abuses to the landholders and community at large, that might otherwise lead to consequences disastrous to the Empire.

Unlike Companies for English Railways, the Government reserve to themselves at starting the right of selecting the route of the line, and as they give the land and the requisite guarantee, they are obviously entitled to the most complete supervision of the expenditure of the Company.

There are many essential reasons why it would be well for Railway Boards to admit the necessity of the Government control over their undertakings in India, but chiefly because there are no independent tribunals in India. The Supreme Courts of India are unable to enforce the performance of an agreement between an English Company and the Imperial State. No Railway executive in India therefore, should be entrusted with the difficult problems that arise from time to time, unless placed under the direct sanction of some local authority, possessing stability of character and a certain amount of freedom of action. To refer every question home for deliberation would cause much difficulty and elicit many inconvenient explanations; it would excite irrelevant correspondence, and would seldom present a true description of the case when it reached England. It is therefore almost impossible for a Railway Company, of itself, to organise an agency of sufficient power or authority, for the construction or the working of a Railway in India. Considering then the intimate relations that should exist between the Railway executive in India and the local Government, it is a most important desideratum to determine the most effective system of conducting the Company's affairs. It may be assumed with sufficient accuracy for argument, that capitalists will invest no money in Indian Railways without a guarantee from the Indian State, and if this is so, the legislature says, so long as we guarantee you your property, we will take to ourselves the right of controlling your discipline. It is clear then that the Companies cannot 'ab initio' regulate their own operations independently of Government, neither can the executive Officers in India be wholly trusted with unlimited

powers, since they would clash with the civil discipline of Government.

The capital being raised under a guarantee, and secured under a regular agreement between the Government and the Railway Company, it is made a proviso that the Company are to be allowed the full advantage of any increase of profit that is fairly due to the successful development of the traffic, after the Government have been repaid their guarantee. This source of increased dividend is contingent on the success of the line, which again is of course due to the project being well considered and the management being judiciously maintained. In granting this benefit to Joint Stock enterprises, the interest of the State is fully secured, and it is manifestly also to the interest of Government to assist the undertaking cheerily on its course of prosperity.

Such being the basis upon which Indian Railways, as at present constituted indisputably rest, it is really not a matter of much difficulty to determine the way of so applying the Government control, as to give satisfaction both to the Railway Companies and to Government. It is by no means necessary or proper for the Government to have an absolute control over the Railways, as if they were entirely its own property; on the contrary, it is much better to be associated with the Railway Boards.

The right of appointment of their Chief Officers and other functionaries rests with the Railway Companies themselves, subject however to the approval of the Home Government, and it has been supposed that the right of dismissal over all the Officers and Servants of the Companies employed in India, should be referred to the local Government who control them; but this is not so, and it would be very injurious to the administration of a Company's affairs if it were; because no really good officials could be found who would come out to India to take service under one set of men, whilst another set of men might summarily dismiss them; neither would any good arise from such a power being given to the local Government, because their appointments being made direct from the Company, the Officers and servants of the Company would very naturally disregard any interference, not contemplated or specified in their agreements, and it would very probably give rise to insubordination and distrust of the Company. It might not be amiss perhaps for the Local Government to have power actually delegated to them in each agreement, to argue the merits of all cases of indiscretion, insubordination, or inefficiency, previous to the decisions of the Home Board, but it should not be permitted to them to act merely on their own convictions.

It has been previously observed that there was little difficulty in devising a complete scheme for working out the Railway Company's contracts in India, after the agreement between the State and the Company has been completed. In order to discuss this part of the subject on its merits, it is desirable to have a knowledge of the arrangements most commonly adopted. A general Agent is appointed to India to represent the Board, and he is either accompanied or preceded by the Engineer in Chief with a staff of Assistant Engineers and Subordinates. These two principal Officers are then placed in communication with the local Government, with whom it lies to sanction previously every thing that has to be done, both in the administrative and executive departments. It is rightly required that the Agent, representing as he does the Company in India, should be the sole medium of correspondence between the Executive, the Home Board, and local Government. He is to be conversant with all things relating to the affairs of the company, without interfering on points which are left wisely to the discretion and professional knowledge of the Chief Engineer, who on Engineering matters should be exempted from his control; but it is also not unreasonably desired that a certain check should be kept by the Agent over the Chief Engineer on matters of general outlay, so as to subject him to the control of the Board and the local Government. The latter is represented by an Officer called the 'Consulting Engineer' whose duty it is to advise the Government and convey its views and orders to the Company's executive.

It is presumed that the route of the intended Railway has been generally ascertained before hand, from exploring surveys made either by the Company or by the Engineers of the local Government. It is now too late to talk of a Royal Commission to lay out a general system of Railways for India, since the leading lines of the Country have been long since determined; the routes therefore of all future extension lines may be safely left to be decided by the different Government authorities, no matter from what source they gather their intelligence. The Railway officers are responsible only for the construction of the line, and so long as they do it in conformity with the views and regulations of Government, as intimated to them through the Government Consulting Engineer, they need not care what route has been determined on. The manner in which the route is ultimately decided on has varied greatly according to the circumstances of each project, and depends greatly on the views of those officers who may be acting for the Company or Government at the time.

There are two systems at work in the management of Railways in India. Some of the Companies have proceeded with the construction, before taking any comparative views of their means and ends; others have more wisely made comprehensive estimates before hand, and passed carefully in review every thing they would ultimately have to provide. It has sometimes happened that no skilled Contractors could be found with capital sufficient to take the whole works; this has obliged the Railway Companies themselves to construct them with their own Executive Staff; but this system has frequently obstructed the works, and is one which should be avoided as highly objectionable and defective. But it is not always a matter of choice which system is adopted, although there can be little question of the desirableness of letting the works, whenever practicable, to Contractors possessing experience and resources. The practice pursued under each of the two systems referred to will be dealt with hereafter. In the mean time it may be observed that whichever system be used for constructing the works, the regulations which affect the executive of any Railway Company, and the machinery by which the Government control is to be exercised, demand the primary consideration.

The Government Engineers and the Civil Engineers have not hitherto worked, as they ought to do, harmoniously together, and much evil has resulted in consequence. The cause of this disagreement is not difficult to explain; but before doing so, it is necessary to point out how badly contrived is the machinery of the Railway Company's executive, from the fact of the Railway Agent and the Chief Engineer of the line having independent authority. The arrangement is defective; the Government Engineers encouraged it as a safeguard for themselves, but the system had a depressing effect on the Railway Engineers who make the designs and direct the execution of the works, and who being alone responsible for the soundness of their construction, are entitled to credit accordingly. The result was however, that the Agent of the Railway Company was made a sort of buffer between the Government and the Company's Engineers, and his intervention was sought as a matter of policy.

The office of the Agent thus became one of great practical consequence instead of being as at first intended, simply a medium for communicating the wishes of the Board and the Chief Engineer. Consequently when the agent supported the official requirements of Government, the opinion of the Chief Engineer was unduly overborne, so often as he submitted and strenuously supported his own views, which might at times be in opposition to those entertained by the Government Officers.

Reverting to the system of the proper organization of the Company's Staff, it must always be borne in mind that there are two distinct periods in the existence of a Railway Company. One is the period of the construction of their works; the other the subsequent period of working the undertaking. The first is a period of capital expenditure; the second, a much longer period of Revenue disbursements and returns. The first is essentially an Engineering period; the second a traffic-working period, where the general control of the Agent may be advantageously exercised.

The Agent's financial knowledge and habits of business might be made of great service to the Chief Engineer, during the construction of the line, more especially as he will afterwards be called upon to work the line in conjunction with the Traffic Manager, Locomotive Superintendent, and Resident Engineer. But during the construction of the Railway works and its capital expenditure, the Chief Engineer must be the principal man consulted and confided in, because on him the whole responsibility rests; the Directors and every one else look to him for the successful accomplishment of their undertaking. His judgment is looked on as final, and the Shareholders having entrusted him with their confidence and embarked their capital upon the faith of his estimates and reports, naturally look to the Chief Engineer as their Chief Officer during the construction of the line. It is well known to Railway Companies, that the most important thing at the outset of their speculations is to determine who shall be the Engineer entrusted with the expenditure of their money, as he must not only be a man who can command confidence, but he must be a skilful man, and one accustomed to design works soundly and economically. His administrative ability in directing the execution is no less necessary, than his general prudence and habit of forethought and integrity of character, so as to keep the Company safe on points which none other besides himself, could be expected to foresee or be able to guard against. For this reason he should not be interfered with in professional details and trivial matters that only thwart and cross his purpose without effecting any real economy. The character of an Engineer has always been held in consideration amongst the highest class of Railway Directors, as well as amongst Statesmen and capitalists, and there is no sound reason why the Government of India and the direction of the Railway interests should not similarly regard it.

It has been previously explained that no great amount of capital can be obtained for Indian Railways, except through the medium of Joint Stock Companies, and that it requires a more

skilful system of management than has hitherto been brought to bear on such enterprises; and certain points have been touched upon, which tend to shew that the only way to raise the requisite capital, is to strengthen the existing security by a State guarantee, and supply such management as will carry with it that confidence, which usually attracts capital to such speculations: also, commercially speaking, by a judicious selection of the route and design of the works, and by a wide publication of the advantages that may be obtained from each project. There need be little fear but that all the lines really wanted in India may be made, if their merits are only properly placed before the English public, and a State guarantee of 5 per cent. is given to them. The reason why the efforts already made have not been continuously successful, is easily traceable to the fact, that the requisite skill has not characterised the management of this subject, and also that the London money market is not at all times accessible to Railway schemes.

The spirit of 'Capital' is coy, and requires gentle wooing; it is repelled or attracted by the most delicate influences, and as no brusque or inconsiderate action or remark ever passes unheeded, so likewise no force is of any avail in its subjection. It may from this be assumed that no system will be found to work out successful results, if the men who compose the deliberative body of Directors and Government authorities in London are not cautious in their movements, and equal to the circumstances they have to control. The basis of the management must be sound at starting, and it may be brought into operation as regards the organization of the London Boards of management in the way already suggested.

The Executive Staff usually employed in England by the Indian Railway Companies, consists of the Secretary and his Clerks, together with a Consulting Engineer, his Assistants and Inspectors, for directing the execution of that portion of the works which must be done in England. It has been found necessary that such Consulting Engineers as can be safely trusted to advise the Directors and Government authorities at home, should be men of first rate standing in their profession, who can also obtain the confidence of Parliament and the public; and as such men are naturally consulted with reference to the appointment of the Chief Engineers of such Companies in India, there is little more to desire, because a man is sure to be selected who will work harmoniously with the Consulting Engineer and the Home Board, and all that is wanted is that the Board should second the views of their professional adviser, and that their Secretary be such a person as

will bring every item under the deliberative judgment of the Board. There is not much that is wanting in the constitution of the Home management; but as already stated the selection of Directors is of the utmost consequence so that they may command the confidence of capitalists. An injudicious selection of Directors would be calculated to create distrust of the whole undertaking.

The Agent in India who shall act as the Chief Officer or head of the Company, and represent the Board, should be selected for his administrative aptitude. His character should be strictly honorable in order to obtain the cheerful obedience of the Executive Officers, and the respect of the Local Government. His duties should be clearly defined with reference to the head Officers of each department, and, at first starting, there should be no other departments than those of the Chief Engineer and his own. The Agent should commence with a very small establishment, but sufficient to assist him in conducting the correspondence with the Board and the Government, and between him and the Chief Engineer; a responsible Book-keeper should also be attached to the Office of the Agent during the earlier stage of the proceedings, before the line is opened for public traffic, in order to keep a perfect account of the capital expenditure, together with any share or transfer transaction.

The Chief Engineer's establishment must of course be governed by the extent and magnitude of the proposed operations, and it must be left to himself to select and distribute his District Engineers and their assistants as he thinks best. He should of course be allowed such draftsmen and writing clerks as may be necessary to conduct efficiently the duties of his office.

It has been observed before, that there are two important stages in the progress of a Railway Company. The time of construction and the period of ordinary working. During the first of these, the Agent has but little to do, because the Chief Engineer has alone to work out the design which is governed by the capital expenditure. There can be no greater mistake made in the administration of the constructive department of Indian Railways, than the attempts of Government Engineers and Railway Company's Agents to organize under a fixed routine the proceedings of the Company's Executive Engineers; because the circumstances are variable, and promptitude is essential in order to grapple effectually with the difficulties of new works and novel circumstances. Where such vast sums are involved, the progress of the works should not be idly sacrificed for months or even days to the bugbear of routine. It has not unfrequently happened that a question of some trivial diminution

of prices, or a plan of some trifling section has involved the stoppage of important works, and voluminous notes on the subject have been made by the Government Engineers previous to a decision that the work might go on as proposed. The establishments asked for by the Engineers to carry out their duties have often appeared excessive, because there has not been sufficient regard to the distinction between a fixed organization relating to a revenue expenditure, and an organization which is only temporary, and which is part and parcel of the capital expenditure. Is it not obviously to the advantage of the Company to complete the works as speedily as possible, and so free the capital from its unproductive posture? Is it wise to delay the undertaking for the want of an additional temporary establishment, which is deemed absolutely necessary by the Chief Engineer?

The remedy for all this is simple, viz., to recognize the principle that the Chief Engineer of the Railway is responsible, for the design and execution of the works, and until the Railway Engineers are made responsible by the Government authorities at Home and aboard, there can exist no sound principles of management in the proceedings of Companies. The Eastern Bengal Railway differs from most of the other Companies, in so far that the whole project was laid before the Home Government in the utmost possible detail, when the contract for its construction was made, and this has been so useful in bringing every thing necessary to complete the undertaking under Government review and preventing disappointment, that few disputes have arisen between the Company's Executive and the Government Officers. Hence the satisfactory position of the Eastern Bengal Railway Company's operations. Its construction is indeed a marked success, although some misunderstandings regarding the Directors' duties and those of the Government Engineers, may have arisen; these happily have not done much mischief, in consequence of the soundness of the contract and the system of Engineering management that was adopted. Nevertheless all this points out the strong necessity which exists, of calling upon the Railway Engineer in India to submit his plans and estimates, and every thing else necessary for carrying into successful effect the undertaking from beginning to end, and requiring him to get these, or any modification of them, agreed to under sanction of the Government Engineers, so that he may begin operations upon some fixed basis, from which there cannot easily be departure. Differences of opinion should be limited to matters of detail, which do not involve those vast discrepancies of design and outlay that have been at times forced

upon the Railway Companies, and for which their own Engineers and Managers have been blamed, as we think erroneously.

It is not material in point of principle, whether the works be let to great Railway contractors or not. In many cases, it is impossible they could be so let, from the fact of such men not being always ready to take them at a reasonably fair price, and it would destroy the advantage of having such contractors, if it was necessary to give them a higher price than the same work could be done for by the Company's own Executive, either through the medium of a series of small contractors, or by day work, or a combination of both, as is usually the case.

Whatever course is pursued, the great requisite that we have urged before for proceeding successfully, is the judicious selection of the Chief Engineer, who must be trusted with the expenditure of the money. It is by no means necessary that any blind confidence should be put in any such individual; on the contrary, it is proper to watch his proceedings carefully and control his actions when necessary, but he must be recognized as the designer and the constructor of the project, and looked to as the fittest man to determine all Engineering points, though subject to be called upon at any time to submit in review, every thing affecting the design and execution as well as the accounts of the expenditure. Unless this is admitted, it is impossible that the various questions that arise can be discussed by the Board or the Government in a fair manner; and if the Chief Engineer is not in a position to bring all matters that are necessary under review, it is clear that some body else should do so. But where shall we find any other official that is more competent to grasp the whole question, and assign to each consideration its proper place before the deliberative authority, except perhaps in the department of the Company's Consulting Engineer?

The true way is to call upon the Chief Engineer, to put forward the points referred to, and with the advice of the Company's consulting Engineer to assist the Directors and Government Engineers, or other authorities, in deciding the basis upon which the proceedings should rest; and if the works can be let to great general Contractors, the case is afterwards very simple, if the practice adopted on the Eastern Bengal Railway be pursued. But if the works must be carried out by small contracts, and by the Company's own Executive staff, still there is little danger of the Engineers going wrong, provided the basis of their operations be fully determined beforehand, and agreed to by the Consulting Engineers of the Government. All that is then necessary is to hold the Chief Engineer to the responsibility that he has agreed to, and to see

that he is *freely* trusted, because there should be no occasion for distrust, if the estimates, quantities, and other requirements of the work, be but clearly specified. The mode of dealing with the detailed operations, may be safely left to the Chief Engineer under these circumstances, and there would be no want of confidence in the Government officers, because they would be freed from that perplexity of doubt which the absence of a fixed basis engenders.

Referring next to the periods of construction and traffic working, it has been shewn that during the first period the Chief Engineer and Company's Agent, together with Government Consulting Engineers, are all the heads of departments necessary, and that the Agent's office is one of very little range of action. When, however, the time arrives for working the traffic, an entirely different management is necessary. It brings into existence the Traffic Manager and the Locomotive Superintendent, together with the Agent's active duties, and as the Chief Engineer is removed to other places for the purposes of construction, his place should be taken up by a Resident Engineer of the permanent way and works; but if the Chief Engineer should remain in the service of the Company for extensions or branch lines, he should still be held as the responsible person to consult upon all questions affecting the 'way and works,' and the Resident Engineer in charge, should be regarded as his assistant only.

Questions of importance which task to the utmost the administrative powers of a Joint Stock Company, controlled by Government, are of every day occurrence, and it is of the greatest consequence to select as their Agents, men fully competent to handle such difficult matters so far from home; and to command the services of the class of men required, good salaries must be given, and as this involves great cost, it follows that small Railway projects cannot bear the requisite expenses of a separate management so well, as when the undertakings are of a sufficient magnitude to support an efficient staff.

It has been remarked by the greatest of all Railway authorities, the late Mr. Robert Stephenson, in reference to the duties of Directors and officers, that 'no Railway can be efficiently or well conducted without thorough unity amongst the heads of all the great Departments. Upon the Superintendents of ways and works of the Locomotive Department, of the out-door arrangements and of traffic, devolve the most onerous and responsible duties; where they fail to act together, or when any one of them ceases to enjoy the full confidence of the Board, every thing must go wrong. Having selected men of the best class, confiding in their integrity, and assured of their competency,

‘one of the principal duties of a Railway direction is to support its officers; any Directorial interference with details must weaken their efficiency, upon which must mainly depend the ultimate success of the Company they serve.’

It is manifest from this and what has been previously stated, that the persons who must be looked to for successfully working Railways in India, are the four principal officers, *viz.* the Agent, or head of the Company; the Engineer of the way and works; the Traffic Manager; and the Locomotive Superintendent; and that one of the chief duties of the Directors at home is to support them; and it may be added, that the duty of the Consulting Engineer of the Local Government is to control their proceedings in India.

As the Board in London is too far removed for direct action, it would be well to have a deliberative committee or council of administration in India formed of these four officers, with the Government officer as an *ex-officio* member, to act as chairman. These should meet as often as necessary to decide upon the various proceedings of the Company. The Agent of the Company should act as Secretary at all such meetings, and their resolutions, as well as the substance of their discussions, should be faithfully reported to the London Board and to the Government. The fact of the Government officer taking the most important part in their deliberations, need in no way disturb their proceedings, which have eventually to be sanctioned by the Local Government under the contract existing between the Company and the Government. There can be no objection to this principle, and it is submitted that the Executive Officers acting as a deliberative body, would be like our cabinet at home, which is composed of the members of the executive Government, each responsible in his own department. The working of such a body should be such as not to relieve any officer from the responsibility that belongs to his department, and votes should only be taken upon those general questions which must be submitted to the Home Board before any action is taken. The Government control would always check any strong headed individual who might be disposed to a pertinacious adherence to his own views. For instance, if the Locomotive Superintendent or the Engineer applied for approval for the supply of a quantity of stores or machinery, the deliberative body might perhaps disapprove of allowing what was asked for, and it would not do for him to say, if you refuse me what I ask, I will leave the responsibility with you. The deliberative body should be freed from such a pressure being put on them by the controlling power of the Government acting quite independent of the

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deliberative council, although perhaps greatly guided by the discussion that took place, but not by the voting; and the Government would be supported in such control by the deliberative opinion of the council or body of Railway officers, whilst the deliberative Council would not possess the power of interfering with the individual responsibility of the heads of Departments beyond expressing their own views.

The modern Joint Stock Banks, which of late years have succeeded so well in India, afford a fair specimen of the manner in which Railway Companies' affairs should be conducted. There is a Manager or chief officer, a Cashier, and so forth. The duties of each are defined with the utmost care, and the success of all undertakings greatly depends upon the judgment with which these several duties are defined. The Manager presides at a deliberative Board of the officers, and they discuss and decide general things. Each officer is however responsible for what falls in the way of his own duty, and has to report all particulars in as great detail as if he never joined in deliberation on the subject, and the Manager has to do the same. All the officers are quite independent of each other, and thus the Board at home gets the real facts of every material circumstance transmitted regularly from each department in the special reports, also the results of the general deliberation of all the officers, through the general Manager, Secretary or Agent. The Home Board then sends out an Inspector once or twice a year to look into each department, and report upon the whole state of the Company's affairs.

Such particular caution is not necessary in the case of Railway management, owing to Government control being in force, but something like it should be observed. The Agent together with the other officers before mentioned, might do as the Manager and other officers of a bank do, and form a very effective Board of management.

The council of administration should be referred to by all the subsidiary officers applying for instructions, including the Store-keeper, the superintendent of Police, the local Solicitor and the Accountant, together with the tradesmen and all other parties that do not exactly come within the province of any single department. There would naturally grow from this practice sub-divisions for the dispatch of the different sections of business, and the members of the council would form themselves into committees for special enquiries, and principles of management or negotiation would be originated which would ultimately lead to as sound a system of administration as could be wished for or expected.

ART. VIII.—*Scripture and Science not at Variance.* By John H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta.—London: Hatchard. Calcutta: R. C. Lepage & Co., 1, Tank Square.

IT has often been noticed that, in the works of creation, along side of the bane is uniformly to be found the antidote. Of the truth of this remark the animal and vegetable kingdoms would at once furnish many striking illustrative examples. The evolutions of providence, in the history of individuals, societies and empires, would also supply their full quota of corroborative attestation. But it is in the kingdom of grace that the most conspicuous exemplifications may be found. Without trenching on the proper domain of a purely theological Review, may we not, in the interests of Literature, Science and Philosophy, boldly ask, when or where, during the last eighteen hundred years, has the poison of Infidelity insinuated itself in the shape of doubt, or cavil, or scoffing objection to the Bible as the only authoritative Revelation from God, without the healing balm or corrective being instantly provided, in the form of a cutting exposure, a triumphant reply, or fresh cumulative evidence of irresistible force?

At the beginning of last century, the frigid and withering Deism of Herbert, Hobbes, Blount, Galon, Toland, Shaftesbury, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, and Bolingbroke threatened not only to benumb, but utterly to consume the very life of Christianity, through the wide realms of Christendom. 'It has come,' wrote Bishop Butler in 1736, 'I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.' It was this light and deriding state of the public mind which evoked the immortal 'Analogy of Religion,' with its unanswered and unanswerable train of argument.

At a later period the more subtle and philosophical scepticism of Hume called forth the slashing exposures of Campbell, Beattie, and other redoubted champions of the faith; while Judge Hailes and other eminent men laid bare the historical sophistries and malicious sarcasms of Gibbon; and Paley abbreviated and popularised the massive and voluminous demonstrations of Lardner:

But it is needless to enlarge on this subject. Suffice it to say, that no sooner was a blow levelled at the credit of Revealed Religion from any quarter—whether directed by the keen philosophism of a Hume, or the low buffoonery of a Paine—than it was instantly parried, repelled, and made to recoil with deadly effect on the breast of him who aimed it. It was this uniform result, redounding to the honor and unshaken strength of Christianity, which prompted Dr. Gerard of Aberdeen, to write his admirable Dissertation, entitled '*Christianity confirmed by the opposition of Infidels.*' 'It is,' says he in his preface, 'by such friction as seems at first sight likely to break it, that the diamond is polished and receives its lustre. In like manner, it is by being fretted, as it were, that truth is made to shew the full brightness of its evidence. The trial distinguishes the true gem from the supposed one, which in the lump promised, perhaps, as fair as it. And plausible falsehoods are often as well received as real truths, till both have been subjected to an exact and severe examination; but the opposition of argument overturns the former, and renders the certainty of the latter more undeniable. No species of truth has been subjected to a stricter scrutiny, or tried by ruder opposition, than the evidences of our holy religion. As soon as this heavenly gem was presented to the world, both Jews and Heathens fell upon it with so great violence that, if it had had the smallest flaw, it must have been shattered into pieces. It has been in the possession of the world for many centuries; and numberless attempts have been successively made, to prove that it is a worthless counterfeit; but all these attempts have only contributed to evince with stronger evidence, that it is genuine.'

It is the truth of this assertion which our author undertakes calmly to examine, and by solid arguments to illustrate and establish. And what stronger proof could he have afforded of the truth and divinity of Christianity than this,—that the more various the lights in which it is viewed, the more narrowly it is inspected, the more violently it is assailed, the more scrutinizingly it is sifted down to the very foundations, by subtle and relentless foes, the more firmly is it found to be planted on a Rock, and the more gloriously does it shine forth in the effulgence of demonstrated heavenly verity? Still, for the Bible, with its high claims of Inspiration by God, there is no rest; and for it there can be no rest or peace, till, instrumentally through its influence, sin is banished from the habitations and hearts of men. Accordingly, in our day, besides a mushroom crop of old exploded objections, decked out in harlequin and pantomimic attire for the million, the real or supposed revelations of Physical and Metaphysical

science have been marshalled in hostile array against the Inspired word of God. But already have the anti-christian Rationalisms and Pantheisms of Germany met with merited rebuke and valid confutation from some of Germany's ablest sons; while the anti-Biblical misapplications of Physical Science, in France, Great Britain, and America, have been as deservedly rebuked and mercilessly exposed by men of learning and science, who glory in proclaiming their unwavering faith in the Oracles of God.

Scientific objections, formerly limited to the learned few, have of late been reduced into simple and compendious forms adapted to the tastes and capacities of the unlearned many, and hurled promiscuously into the multitudinous streams and streamlets of our popular literature. The results of recondite research, stripped of the cumbrous and prolix processes, by which they may have been reached, and which would be unintelligible to the multitude, are thus everywhere propagated, as if they were so many aphorisms or axioms of indisputable authority. And as English Education, apart from Revealed Religion, spreads in India, popular English Literature, tainted and polluted with the leaven of an insidious infidelity, is sure to gain increasing currency in educated native circles, and acquire, if not arrested, in time a preponderant ascendancy in their minds.

It was, therefore, a seasonable thought on the part of Archdeacon Pratt—a gentleman, well known to be thoroughly at home in the very highest walks of science generally, and especially demonstrative science—to take up the popularized scientific objections of the day against the Divine authority of Scripture, and answer them in forms, at once brief and level with the popular understanding. Nor has the thought been more seasonably conceived than felicitously executed. That such is the judgment of the reading public in England is clear from the fact that, within a short period of time, it has gone through *four* editions. The fourth edition, brought out within the last few months, is now before us, considerably enlarged and improved. Its contents are designedly of a miscellaneous character. It was not intended to be an original or exhaustive treatise on any one subject. It is purposely of the nature of a *portable Manual* of popular objections and answers on the subject of Scripture and Science. But, let it not be supposed, that, on this account, it is either flimsy or superficial in its texture or reasonings. On the contrary, it is the product of a mind profoundly conversant with the subjects treated of—a mind, therefore, capable of brushing aside all crudities, accessaries and irrelevances,—capable of seizing, at once, on the very pith and heart of each objection in succession, and of exposing its hollowness and deformity by

the touch of the Ithuriel spear of truth. It is impossible, carefully and candidly to peruse the volume, without feeling, at every step, that the reader is in the hands of a master. The very simplicity and translucency of its unadorned diction will be found only an additional proof of the writer's thorough comprehension of his subject, and of the perfect ease with which he can successfully grapple with it.

We think it due to the Author that he himself should be allowed to explain the *object* and *plan* of his treatise. This he does in an introduction which we here give entire :—

'The assertion, not unfrequently made, that the discoveries of Science are opposed to the declarations of Holy Scripture is as mischievous as it is false, because it tends both to call in question the Inspiration of the Sacred Volume and to throw discredit upon scientific pursuits.

Many, however, who are predisposed to reject such a conclusion, from a general conviction that Scripture is the Word of God, are nevertheless at a loss for arguments to repel the charge. It is the object of the following pages to furnish such persons with a reply, in a concise and portable form. The Treatise, therefore, is intentionally only a summary of arguments. To expand it, except by the addition of new illustrations, would defeat my design. A larger work would not find access where I hope this will.

There are others also whose case it is here designed to meet—those who receive the Christian Revelation, but, under the influence of supposed difficulties brought to light by scientific discovery, are tempted to abandon the Earlier Portion of the Sacred Volume as not inspired. It is possible that the unbeliever may find something in these pages to soften his prejudices; but his case is not here specially contemplated.

My Treatise is, therefore, of the defensive kind. It is intended to show how difficulties are to be met and objections removed. Some hesitate as to the expediency of putting such books indiscriminately into the hands of the young, thinking them calculated to engender doubts where they never existed, and to create the very scepticism which they were intended to rebut. There is some weight in this; and, no doubt, were the mind never likely in after life to encounter the false views of sceptics, it might be far better to leave it untainted. If the young could always be fenced around by truth, till its principles became so thoroughly infused into their minds and hearts as to make error innocuous when they go out into the wide world, to leave them ignorant of the different forms of doubt and unbelief till circumstances force them upon their notice, might be the better course. But it is next to impossible to protect them, even when under the wisest guidance, from becoming acquainted with, if not imbibing some of the mischief, which a refined scepticism—especially regarding the historical character and full inspiration of the Holy Scripture—is spreading far and wide through the press and other channels. If the hesitation regarding the propriety of teaching these things to the young arise from a dislike to see old and *præsumptuous* interpretations upset, such a course is most dangerous. By maintaining false and exploded interpretations as true, we are sowing in the minds of the young seeds of a future revulsion which is likely to injure more than the introduction of the new views at an earlier stage would possibly do. There can be no question that the safest course is consistently to present the young the whole truth without reserve, not shrinking from stating in a plain

and open manner the various objections and difficulties they will hear broached, explaining to them at the same time in what spirit and by what kind of argument they should be met.

The fact is, that sceptics and semi-sceptics are, unwittingly or not, undermining the faith of many in Scripture by subtle arguments drawn from the apparent contradictions between Scripture and Science. Against this it is necessary to provide an antidote: and the better fortified our youth are in their earlier days, the better prepared will they be to contend for the truth in after life. It is not the Christian, but the worldly philosopher who has raised these questions. But having raised them, he forces the advocates of Scriptural truth to enter upon the contest, and to meet him on his own ground, that they may put a weapon of defence in the hands of those whose faith is in danger of being shaken.

In the First Chapter I bring the experience of the past to bear upon the subject, by showing how many examples history supplies in which from time to time Scripture and Science have appeared to be in irreconcilable conflict, but further light has cleared up all difficulty. From this I argue, that it is in the highest degree *unphilosophical*, whenever new difficulties arise in these days of discovery, to doubt that these also will be cleared up as light and knowledge advance. The experience of the past should encourage us fearlessly to carry our investigations into the phenomena of nature, fully persuaded that no real discrepancy can ever be in the end established. The above may be regarded as a negative argument.

In the Second Chapter I enter upon an examination of the character and contents of the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis; as it is in this part of the Sacred Volume that the seeds of strife between Scripture and Science are supposed chiefly to lie. By what I cannot but regard as an unanswerable proof of the historical character and plenary inspiration of these Early Chapters, and by a reference to their important bearing in various eminent particulars, I establish a positive argument, and show that it is *impossible* that Scripture, proceeding as it does from Divine Inspiration, and manifesting such superhuman wisdom and foreknowledge, can, when rightly interpreted, be at variance with the Works of the Divine Hand; and that therefore, if difficulties remain at any time not cleared up, they must arise from our ignorance, or from hasty interpretation either of the phenomena before us or of the language of the Sacred Record.

The results of this investigation are then summed up, and the conclusion drawn,—that no new discoveries, however startling they may appear at first, need disturb our belief in the Plenary Inspiration of the Sacred Volume, or damp our ardour in the pursuit of Science.

It will be seen from the above sketch, that it is not necessary for the validity of my argument that every instance of apparent discrepancy between Scripture and Science shall have met with an explanation. It requires only, that so many instances of the successful removal of difficulties, which at one time appeared to be insurmountable, should be adduced, as to assure the mind under new perplexities, that there is every reason to believe that in time these also will vanish. The primary object of the Treatise is, not to solve present difficulties, but to create confidence in the mind, while in perplexity regarding them, that all will in the end be right, and that the harmony of Scripture and Science *cannot* really be broken, though it may for a time seem to be disturbed. In point of fact, however, I know of no alleged or apparent discrepancy between Scripture and Science which cannot be met by a decisive or at least satisfactory answer. The chief examples I have brought together in the following pages, and made them the groundwork of my argument. Had I known of any existing unanswered difficulty,

I should now have brought it forward as an illustration of the use of my principle. Had, for example, the astounding announcement of M. Bunsen and Mr. Leonard Horner, that the age of the human race is many thousands of years older than the Scripture narrative makes it, not yet met with a reply, I should have produced it,—not, as in the present edition, doing homage to my argument, but as an example of the principle I have set forth, that we should wait, fortified by the experience of the past, and by an immovable belief in the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and feel assured that time would turn objections into proofs, and discrepancy into harmony."

Such, then, is the Author's object and plan—an object truly noble in its aim, and a plan skilfully executed. In vindicating the harmony between Science and Scripture by an appeal to the history of the past, the examples, adduced for illustration, are thus classified :—

1. 'Examples, from the Earlier History of Scientific discovery, in which Scripture has been relieved of false interpretations, and the harmony of Scripture and Science thereby re-established.

The Firmament—Antipodes—The Earth a Globe—The Motion of the Earth.

2. Examples, from the later History of Science, in which Scripture has not only been relieved of false interpretations, but has had new light reflected upon it from the discoveries of Science.

The Antiquity of the Earth—Creatures in existence before the Six Days—Existence of light before the Six Days—Death in the World before Adam's Fall—Specific Centres of Creation—No known traces of the Deluge—The Deluge probably not over the whole earth.

3. Examples, in which Science has been delivered from the conclusions of some of its votaries, and thereby shown to be in entire agreement with Scripture.

All men of one blood—Differences of nations since the Flood—Mankind originally of one language—Age of the human race according to Hindoo Astronomy—to Egyptian Antiquities—and to Nile-deposits—The six days' creation not confined to Paradise—The origin of species.

Having concluded his negative argument by demonstrating the invalidity of objections the Author next proceeds positively to exhibit '*the historical character, plenary Inspiration, and surpassing importance of the first eleven chapters of Genesis,*'

After having delated, in his usual lucid strain, on the various topics included under these heads, he winds up by asking,—

'What, then, are the results arrived at in the foregoing pages? They may be summed up under the following heads :—

1. That, through ignorance and hasty zeal, Holy Scripture has undergone many severe tests during the progress of Science, and has come through the trial in every case with triumph. The experience of the past has worked out this result, that through the whole course of philosophical discovery, Scripture and Science have never been found at variance, though they have often been charged with being so.

2. That Scripture speaks in human language, and according to its usages; but in no case adopts the errors and prejudices of men, even in things natural. It speaks to us on such matters according to the appearances of things, that is, as things *ARE SEEN*, which is a way intelligible in all ages of the world. It speaks as man would speak to man in every-day life, even

on such topics, and in times of the greatest scientific light. It speaks not scientifically, and therefore does not adopt scientific terms, or give scientific views of things: but there is, nevertheless, no sacrifice even of scientific truth to human ignorance and prejudice.

3. That this harmony between Scripture and Science appears, not only from the abundant illustration it receives from the history of past conflicts through which the Sacred Volume has passed intact, but pre-eminently from the character of Scripture itself as the Inspired Word of God, and, therefore, infallible in every respect.

4. That the Earlier Chapters of the Sacred Volume, in which the seeds of variance have been supposed to lie, are of inestimable value to us; and the fact of their Inspiration must not be set aside on the pretence that Christianity would remain the same if they were blotted out; for they form a most important portion of the Divine Revelation, and convey inspired truths of the highest moment.'

The grand conclusion, drawn from the whole, even in these days of advancing knowledge, is ~~this~~, *'that no new discoveries, however startling, need disturb our belief in the plenary Inspiration of Scripture, or damp our zeal in the pursuit of Science.'*

Our main subject being to introduce the work to the favourable notice of our readers, we have neither space nor scope for any lengthened critical remarks. With the tone and spirit which pervade it throughout we cordially sympathise. It is genial and kindly, without being slobbered with the mawkishness of a simpering sentimentalism. It is courteous and gentlemanly even towards unscrupulous antagonists, while yet unweakened by the compromises of a spurious liberality. It is fearless and inflexible in its maintenance of the sacredness and authority, the plenary inspiration and infallibility of Jehovah's Holy Oracles, without stooping to the hackneyed phraseology of acrimonious controversy, or degenerating into the fierce and fiery invectives of resentful partizanship. With his mode of conducting the argumentative parts of the discussion we are equally pleased. It is characterized by fairness, candour and straight-forwardness. It shirks nothing; it evades no attack; it glosses over no difficulty. And yet in every instance, the objection, presented in its fullest force, is either effectually parried or triumphantly refuted.

The only case in which we might slightly demur, is our Author's treatment of the Mosaic Deluge. Of late, Dr. Pye Smith, Hugh Miller and other men of undoubted science and piety, have cut the tangled and intricate knot of manifold difficulties, by adopting the theory of a Partial Deluge; and our Author appears not disinclined to the adoption of the same view—taking special care, at the same time, to shew that it meets all the absolute requirements of the Mosaic Record. We confess, however, that we are not yet quite prepared to

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abandon the universality of the Deluge, according to the most obvious interpretation of scripture language. Geologically considered, the gradual submergence and subsequent emergence of whole continents is not incompatible with the past history of our globe and its stupendous cataclysms, as recorded in the testimony of the Rocks. And to the Arm of Omnipotence the greater miracle is as easy of accomplishment as the less. Doubtless to the poor bewildered vision of Human Science, yet wrapped in its swaddling bands, formidable difficulties do present themselves. But even these admit of a possible if not probable solution. And if they did not, we would rather insist on the yet unsettled and immature state of the Natural Sciences chiefly concerned, and wait till their inductions and generalizations approximated to something like certainty. Geological theories, in particular, have hitherto too much resembled Bishop Berkeley's ghosts of evanescent quantities; they seem as if framed for startling people in the dark, and then disappearing like 'the baseless fabric of a vision.' In our own day, the celebrated author of the '*Reliquiæ Diluviana*' lived to renounce his former views on the subject of his great work, and to recall it. The famous theory of Sir Charles Lyell, and other eminent geologists, which gave the designations of Eocene, Miocene, and Pleiocene to the several divisions of the upper Tertiary period, has, by recent more accurate observation and discovery, been shaken to its base. While, therefore, unhesitatingly recognising the leading facts presented by geological science, we cannot accept many of the doctrines founded thereon by geologists as *demonstrated truths*. They are as yet, to a great extent, only plausible inferences, or merely probable deductions, often based on, or interlinked with, ingenious assumptions, rather than *ascertained or actually verified conclusions*. And amid such scientific uncertainties, we deem it, on the whole, more philosophic to wait for further light, ere we finally relinquish our old belief in the universality of the Mosaic Deluge.

In some other instances, not only has the objection been shewn by our author, to be utterly groundless, but it has been rendered tributary to confirming the literal truth of Scripture.

For example, how often has the Mosaic account of the confusion of tongues been made the subject of profane ridicule? How often has the variety of languages been alleged to be so great, and their differences of character so wide, that it is inconceivable that mankind should ever have been of 'one language and of one speech?' Now what has been the result of the most searching philological inquiries on the subject? 'Baron von Humbolt,' says our author, 'the Academy of St. Petersburg,

Menon, Klaproth, and Frederic Schlegel, have all come to one conclusion, by a comparison of languages, that the further philological inquiry has been carried, the more numerous are the indications that *all languages must have been originally one.* Nor is this all. 'While the numerous languages which have been examined, and which were at one time thought to have almost nothing in common, are found to be closely allied to each other in grammatical construction, when belonging to the same family, at the same time philologists have decided, that the families have such differences as no principle of ordinary growth or expansion from a common origin can account for.' Accordingly, Herder, Sharon Turner, Abel-Remusat, Niebuhr, Balbi, and other Linguists have come to the conclusion, that 'there are evident internal proofs that the separation into different tongues must have been by *some violent and sudden cause*,—and that 'nothing but a violent change, caused by some force from without, can have created the distinct differences which now exist, if these families are the broken fragments of a once undivided whole.' In other words, in the deliberate judgment of the most renowned philologists, the actual existing phenomena of language demand the intervention of some such violent change as that of the Babel catastrophe, in order adequately to account for them! How singularly then, do 'all the results of investigation which can be considered of scientific value tend to support, and illustrate the scriptural account of the miraculous confusion of languages which led to the dispersion of the descendants of Noah upon the face of the earth!'

This leads us to remark, what we have often thought, that the preternatural occurrence at Babel is not only sufficient to account for *the diversity of language* but also, for *the diversity of race.*

Anatomically, physiologically, intellectually and morally, the race of man has often been proved by Prichard, Smythe and others to be but one. And our author has, with his wonted condensing power, furnished a brief but clear summary of the facts and arguments which go to prove the consistency of all existing varieties with original unity of race. Still, granting the physical possibility of all men being from one original stock, and making all due allowance for the potency of climatic and other influences, in modifying the human constitution, it has been questioned, whether, according to Scripture chronology, there was a sufficient time for bringing about the radical changes which are known, from the old Egyptian monuments and paintings, to have existed at least within a thousand years of the Deluge. The ordinary considerations adduced by our

author are enough to blunt the edge, if not wholly remove the difficulty. To these he has also added one, which is too often forgotten, viz., 'that it is a mistake to assume, that the population of the earth began again from a *new single centre* after the Deluge. Eight persons repeopled the earth. There is no evidence that Shem, Ham and Japhet had not in them elements differing as wide as the Asiatic, the African, and the European differ from each other. They may have married too into different (antediluvian) tribes, and their wives have been as diversified as themselves. It is, then, altogether gratuitous to assert, that the races, which now exist, must be traced down from one man Noah, as from a new starting point. This at once carries our range of time, 1,700 years further back, to the days of Adam, for the operation of the causes of change; and the objection is entirely removed.'

If, however, the aggregate of these considerations and suggestions do not satisfy the determined doubter; if anything be thought by some to be still wanting to complete the chain of counter-evidence; may it not be found, fairly and legitimately, in the direct and preternatural exertion of Divine Power at Babel? One avowed object of the congregated host of rebels was to defeat the divine purpose of dispersion over the face of the earth. One grand object of the confusion of tongues was to effectuate and expedite that dispersion. And as the Almighty never does anything by halves, are we not warranted to infer, that, besides the immediate change in the organs of speech, there were then miraculously impressed on the human frame such other constitutional peculiarities as might rapidly issue in those diversities of complexion and structure which constitute the different varieties of race, and which were indispensable to adapt these varieties to the several zoological provinces respectively occupied by them? This additional consideration we would, though with all diffidence, recommend to the attention of our excellent author, in the event of a new edition of his admirable treatise being soon called for.

On the compatibility of the vast and unknown antiquity of the globe, as unfolded by geological science, with the recency of the Adamic creation as recorded by Moses, our author's remarks are just and conclusive. In common with all enlightened expositors of our day, he regards the first verse of Genesis as a distinct and independent sentence, in which we have a sublime announcement of the first fiat of the Creator in calling matter into existence; and a solemn protest, by anticipation, against the Atheistic doctrine of the eternity of matter, as well as against the Pantheistic doctrine of deduction or emanation

from the substance of Deity. This primary and absolute origination of the material universe, is, by the Inspired Seer, declared to have been 'in the beginning;' but *when* that 'beginning' was, is not told. For aught that the record contains it may have been numberless ages anterior to the detailed operations, subsequently described,—thus leaving a period of indefinite length for endless geological revolutions and catastrophes between the original act of creation and the last organization of the elements for the abode of man. This happy reconciliation of the demands of geological science with a fair interpretation of the Mosaic narrative, was, in our day, first suggested by Dr. Chalmers, in a Review of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, which was contributed to the Edinburgh Christian Instructor as far back as 1814. On his part, this view of the opening verse of Genesis, now all but universally adopted, was the intuition of a profound sagacity.

The view, however, though original, as respects Dr. Chalmers himself, and the world at large when he first propounded it, is not, in reality, *new*. In meeting the cavils of objectors, who are ever apt to allege, that new interpretations are forced upon us merely to save the credit of the Inspired Volume, it is interesting, and, indeed, extremely important to observe, as a well known Lecturer has well remarked, how 'the early Fathers of the Christian Church should seem to have entertained precisely similar views; for St. Gregory Nazianzen, after St. Justin Martyr, supposes an *indefinite period* between the creation and the first ordering of all things. St. Basil, St. Cosarius, and Origen are much more explicit.' To these might be added Augustine, Theodoret, Episcopius, and others, whose remarks imply the existence of a considerable interval 'between the the creation related in the first verse of Genesis, and that of which an account is given in the third and following verses.' In modern times, but *long before* geology became a Science, the independent character of the opening sentence of Genesis was affirmed by such judicious and learned men as Calvin, Bishop Patrick, and Dr. David Jennings.

Might not important facts like these, in a new edition of our author's work, be advantageously noticed, either in the text itself, or in a foot note?

On the most vexed question of all, that of the six demi-urgic days, our author's trumpet gives no uncertain sound. Most of our Scientific Bible Reconcilers have considered these days as geologic periods of unknown length. Not so our Author. Against this view he stoutly contends. In his judgment—a judgment in which we cordially concur—the first chapter of

Genesis, does not pretend (as has been generally assumed) to be a cosmogony, or an account of the original creation of the Material Universe. The only cosmogony which it contains, in that sense at least, is confined to the sublime declaration in the first verse, *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* The Inspired Record, then stepping over an interval of indefinite ages, with which we have no direct concern, proceeds at once to narrate the events preparatory to the introduction of man on the scene, employing phraseology strictly faithful to the appearances which would have met the eye of man, could he have been a spectator on the earth of what passed during those six days.'

According to this view of the subject, the six days are six ordinary natural days, measured, like any other natural days, by the revolution of the earth on its axis. The grand objection to this literal interpretation of the 'days' was the supposed geological discovery of 'multitudes of pre-Adamite fossils in the Upper or Tertiary Strata, which are precisely the same as species now in existence.' At length, however, the late M. D'Orbigny, after an elaborate examination of prodigious numbers of fossils, 'has demonstrated that there have been *at least twenty-nine* distinct periods of animal and vegetable existence, that is, twenty-nine creations separated one from another by catastrophes, which have swept away the species existing at the time, with a very few solitary exceptions, never exceeding one and a half per cent. of the whole number discovered, which have either survived the catastrophe, or have been erroneously designated. But *not a single species of the preceding period survived the last of these catastrophes*; and this closed the Tertiary and ushered in the *Human Period*.' In other words, 'between the termination of the last or Tertiary Period and the commencement of the Human or Recent Period, there is a *complete break*. Although five in every seven *genera* are the same in the recent as in the previous period—there is *not a single species common to the two periods*. Thus the difficulty wholly evanishes'.

What an additional proof is this of the assertion already made, that Geology is still but in its infancy; and that many of its vaunted conclusions are no more than unverified hypotheses? We confess we never liked the Period-day theory and could never see our way to an intelligent adhesion to it. Before adopting it as a final and satisfactory solution of the difficulty, we preferred to pause and wait for further light. That light has now happily dawned, or rather shone upon us, through the decisive demonstrations of M. D'Orbigny; and we are

now enabled to plead the latest and most accurate results of Scientific investigation in favour of the six days, as six natural days, of the creative and formative work of which, the seventh, or sabbath is the rightly fitting periodical commemoration.

In connection with this subject our author has been led to notice and expose some of the 'hazardous assertions' so groundlessly made by two of the writers in the new, strangely and unworthily celebrated volume of 'Oxford Essays and Reviews;' as well as their unfairness or disingenuousness, if not down-right dishonesty towards himself. By actual quotations he has shewn that the late Professor Baden Powell, in his unhappy zeal against the authority of Divine Revelation, has *made him say the very reverse of what he did say*;—and that Mr. Goodwin also has inexcusably mistaken and misrepresented some of his most clearly enunciated views. Of the volume, containing these mistakes and mis-statements with a thousand others still more pernicious, the less said the better; in itself it is not assuredly any thing very formidable. Quite the contrary. It is in sober and sad reality, one of the poorest, dreariest, driest, dullest, most incoherent and inconsequential products of the mint of modern infidelity. From beginning to end we have not been able to detect in it a single sentiment, statement, train of argument, inference, conjecture, or even gratuitous averment that has the remotest title or pretention to originality. It is neither more nor less than *an unskilfully hashed-up and imperfectly re-heated medley of the stale and oft-refuted sophisms and perversions of the English Deists, French Encyclopedists, and German Neologians*;

We are glad to find the author, in a valuable '*Postscript*' added to this edition, dealing out some heavy and even smashing blows at the late Baron Bunsen and other Egyptologists of his rationalizing school;—men, who, with fatuous inconsistency, even more evince the most senseless scepticism relative to the credit and authority of the Mosaic History—beyond all measure the most multifariously authenticated record of all Antiquity—while they evince an equally-senseless credulity relative to some obscure, mutilated, contradictory fragments of the heathen Manetho, and some slender hieroglyphic skeletons of names 'half-guessed at and half decyphered by a doubtful means of interpretation.'

There are other subjects on which we would fain make some remarks—more especially the latest spawn of a thinly disguised Infidelity, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, with its 'struggle for existence' hypothesis and its 'Natural Selection' surmise, on which our author has favoured us with some very judicious

comments. But our space is fairly exhausted and we must pause. If any further evidence were wanted to prove the divinity of the Mosaic account of the creation, it might be found in the contrast which it presents to all the cosmogonies of heathen nations, unfavoured by the light of Inspiration. Let any intelligent reader open the Institutes of Manu or the Vishnu Puran, and compare, rather contrast the cosmogonies so minutely and elaborately wrought out there in defiance of science and common sense, with the simple, compendious and sublime narrative of Moses, and we venture to affirm that, after a careful and candid perusal, he will be more than ever disposed, with reference to the latter, to exclaim, 'Verily the finger of God is here.'

With our author we now part, under a confirmed persuasion that in his work on 'Scripture and Science not at variance' he has rendered good service to the cause of Biblical truth. To all Christian heads of families, to all Christian managers and teachers of schools, we, therefore, earnestly recommend his most interesting and precious volume. Some of the objections therein exposed they may never hear of as actually urged; and others may be regarded as too contemptible to merit a serious hearing. But let it be remembered that the volume of Archdeacon Pratt is purposely of the nature of a *miscellany*—representing the thoughts, the whimsies, the speculative conjectures, and the crude unverified hypotheses of different and even antagonistic schools of infidelity. Such a volume, therefore, ought to be kept in every private and public Library, as an armoury of weapons wherewith to repel the onslaught of old objections, and a magazine of examples illustrative of the most successful modes of resisting the aggression of new ones.

CRITICAL NOTICES

OF

WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST.

A Grammar of the Pukhto, Pushto, or Language of the Afghans.
By Captain H. G. Raverty, 3rd Regt. B. N. I. Second Edition,
Hertford: Stephen Austin. 1860.

'Beauty' the poet tells us, 'is not, as fond men misdeem, An outward show of things that only seem.' That is, to put it prosaically, though a handsome face and a fine figure never fail to make a good impression, if the lady, on closer acquaintance, should be found to make havoc of her h's, to be very bad tempered, and to believe in Joe Smith and spiritual rappings, our feeling of resentment will probably be greater than if she had less attractions. If any thing could bribe one to study Pushto, it ought to be the exquisite manner in which the volume named in the margin has been got up. The whitest paper, the blackest ink, leaded types, careful printing, a generous margin, are points of almost irresistible charm, and contribute their full share in keeping up the well-deserved fame of Stephen Austin's printing office. But on examining the volume we are deterred from giving ourselves to Pushto by the author's sad experiences. He says, 'After having devoted seventeen of the best years of my life, and expended much money in acquiring, *more or less*, a knowledge of nine Oriental languages, I find that the pursuit has never brought me advantage or advancement.' The Punjab Government, it appears, kept the meritorious author down. A thousand pities. But he knows how to requite good for evil. He is convinced that the Kabul disasters were due to the non-existence of his Grammar, and is quite certain that any future complications in that quarter will readily be obviated, or at least mitigated through his labours. He hastens therefore to present us with his books, as Dost Mohamed, he informs us, may die any day. Thanks!

But a gift may be unacceptable; it may be worthless. Is Capt. Raverty competent, with all his devotedness, to teach us Pushto? He introduces, himself to the public quite freely, somewhat like the great Mulligan, Mr. Titmarsh's friend. He gives us, in his copious prefaces and introductions, written not in Pushto, but in plain, though not very good, English, an insight into his mind, talents, and abilities. A grammarian should above all possess the analytical faculty, a faculty closely allied to the logical faculty. This he is glaringly destitute of. Let us take a few examples at random. He wishes to prove, for instance, that the Afghans are 'the lost tribes of the house of Israel;' and he does prove, to almost every body's satisfaction, that they *claim* to be of the tribe of Benjamin, not one of the 'Lost Tribes' at all. He sets out to prove that Pushto does not belong to the 'Indo-Teutonic' family of languages, and the first argument he uses is that it contains a great number of Zend, Pehlevi, and Persian words and that it bears a great similarity to the

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modern Persian, all these being 'Indo-Teutonic' languages. He says that 'the Pushto pronouns bear no similarity whatever with those of the Sanskrit family,' as the reader will at once see.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Slavonic.	German.	English.	Pushto.
First person,	ma.	ma.	me.	me.	mja.	mich.	me.	mi.
Second person,	twa.	thwa.	te.	te.	tja.	dich.	thee.	to or di;

And even in the third person, which is usually more difficult to recognize, *de* in the nominative, philologists will at once recognize as identical with the Greek, German, and English article; and *ye*, the oblique case, as the Prakrit and Latin *se*, and the Zend, Greek, and English *he*.

But then, a man need not be a logician after all, nor even a philologist to teach us a language which he knows: and Captain Raverty tells us that Pushto is not difficult. Why then does the grammar extend to 200 quarto pages? It ought to be very knotty and crabbed indeed to require or even justify such an unreasonable length. We fear we must be plain. The book is an imposition. It smells of Grub Street from beginning to end. It has very little to recommend it to a *bona fide* learner. Capt. Raverty in his prospectus solicited subscriptions for his works on the ground that they would be 'curiosities in literature.' He has kept his word; the grammar certainly will establish his character for veracity. But it is destitute of every element that could make it useful to an inquirer. Its facts are false, its rules are incorrect, its method is utterly at fault, and system it has none.

It is not that the author is ignorant of Pushto. On the contrary, considering the disadvantages of his position, for out of the 'seventeen years' he did not spend one on the Afghan frontier, his knowledge of the language is very great; the mere collection of his illustrative examples betokening a variety of reading which is astonishing. But partly from the absence of original training, and perhaps more from the vast display and parade got up to hide, if possible, the original defect, the grammarian has made a decided *fiasco*. The way in which he uses grammatical terms, sometimes Arabic, sometimes English, reminds one very much of a child playing with edged tools; he has but a dim preception of their real use, and the looker on becomes quite nervous, lest the man should cut himself; and he does cut himself. He speaks of conditional and optative *tenses*; he has a thing he calls *Future Indefinite*, of which it is hard to tell, what it is; he sports an *Aorist*, which on inspection turns out to be the Subjunctive Mood; he has a 'noun of fitness,' which common people would call a Gerund; 'I should do' he calls the future; he recognizes two Forms of the Imperative, but has no idea that the one is the present Imperative, and the other the Aorist Imperative; the verbal noun (it is really the old Infinitive, and usually ends in *an* or *ana*, as one might expect from a comparison of the Sanskrit, Hindi, Greek, Persian, and German languages, though one of Capt. Raverty's great arguments is that there is no similarity between the Infinitives of these languages) his verbal noun he call the Present Participle. There is a startling announcement (p. 48) that certain three prepositions are used as demonstrative pronouns. Certainly Pushto must be a difficult language, if prepositions perform such antics. But in vindication of Pushto we must state that it is the grammarian who performs the surprising feats, not the harmless parts of speech. This statement is equivalent to saying that the German prepositions *von*, *an*, are used as articles when

they are spelt *vom*, *am*, or that the French preposition *de* stands for a demonstrative pronoun when it is written *du*. Capt. Raverty does not see that the insignificant vowel mark, which he is obliged to put after his curious prepositions, is the pronoun, and that the preposition remains a preposition.

His English style is so bad that his rules are mostly unintelligible. He repeatedly says, 'thou becometh' 'thou seizeth' and the like; he constantly mentions 'words with prepositions and postpositions' 'prefixed'; the latter seems to be quite an easy operation with him; he speaks of 'extrinsic friends'; he obtains, 'assistance from the *potentiality* of the spirit'; he says 'after having explained the past tense so fully, the imperfect is easily described.' And when his rules are intelligible, they are sure to be wrong, or, at least, misleading to one who simply seeks instruction. Sometimes the example he adduces, refutes his rule, as in Sec. 90, and many other places. And then his radically incorrect views about pronouns, and his inability to understand the construction of the past tenses, vitiate almost every page. How little he understands the structure of the Pushto sentence, may be inferred from the principal rule which he gives on the subject (p. 108). 'The object must be in the nominative, and sometimes in the dative (!) and the agent in the instrumental case,' That is odd. The nominative is the object, and the agent is the instrumental; then where in the world is the subject? Even Capt. Raverty would find it difficult to construct a sentence without a subject. A very large part of the volume, more than a hundred pages, is taken up with so called rules for the formation of the tenses, which are totally useless, as after telling how many different methods there are of forming a certain tense—if the word 'method' can be properly applied to any thing in this book—he does not in a single instance give a list of the verbs belonging to any one of his classes, nor does he ever point out a mark by which they are to be recognized. Indeed, he has no less than *thirty-seven* conjugations. This is simply mocking the poor inquirer who comes to him for advice. Classification is confessedly a difficult subject, but if Capt. Raverty had no more power of generalization than is manifested in his leaving the Pushto verb in an anarchy of thirty-seven divisions, he should not have usurped the dictatorship; *aut Caesar aut nullus*; he is evidently not Caesar. He does not even tell the reader always that the verb, which he gives as an example in one or another of his conjugations, is the only one of the kind. The same may be said of a subsequent chapter, that on the derivation of words, in which the value of his rules and the sinful waste of good paper may be seen at a glance. He states lucidly, 'Abstract nouns may be obtained from adjectives, in eight different ways; and then he enumerates them. But it so happens that besides the single example which is given under the head of the first four rules, there is not another adjective in the language which forms its abstract in the way indicated; of what use then are these four rules? A little reflection, moreover, would convince any one that even the alleged derivation is purely imaginary. He goes on, in the same chapter: 'VI. This form is *something* similar to the fourth' Why? By rule IV. *tor* 'black' formed *tydrá* 'darkness, and by rule VI. *tor* 'black' forms *torwde* 'blackness.' Striking similarity; very much like Sambo and Pompey, who were very much like each other, especially Sambo.

The oblique cases of the personal pronouns bother the author very much; he has made the discovery that 'they have no meaning separate from the verbs,' which is a pure absurdity, if it means anything, an oblique case of anything implying something upon which the case depends. Then he has what he calls 'affixed personal pronouns,' and refers to the Arabic and Persian as analogous. A pronoun which is *affixed* (as is the case in the Semitic languages) implies that the word to which it is affixed is a word without

this affix; but on separating Capt. Raverty's 'affixed pronouns' from the words which he adduces as examples, the latter cease to be words altogether. The fact is that he mistakes the common personal terminations of the verb for pronouns; he virtually calls the terminations, for instance, *am*, *as*, *at*, in the Latin *agam*, *agas*, *agat*, 'affixed personal pronouns.' There is no doubt that these terminations were pronouns originally, as philology has proved long ago, but our gallant author is so totally innocent of anything like philology, that he can hardly even be presumed to have blundered into the truth by mistake; besides that the enunciation of a theoretical truth like this would be out of place here. The mistake is probably the most serious in the whole production, as it destroys whatever value the bare paradigms of the transitive verbs might have had. Whole pages are utterly ruined by this sad botchery. And the matter is so vital that this baneful error alone is sufficient to damn the book. What would be said of a Latin grammar that went on conjugating page after page *a me laudatur*, *a te laudatur*, *ab eo laudatur*, and did not give the smallest hint of the existence of the forms *laudor*, *laudaris*, *laudamur*, *laudamini*, and so throughout all the tenses? This is precisely what the ingenious author has done.

The principal value of this grammar might be supposed to consist in its copious illustration by examples taken from a considerable range of authors. And Capt. Raverty certainly deserves the highest credit for the industry and perseverance with which he has collected this store of material. Our admiration, however, would be more unalloyed, if we were sure that the author thought the examples necessary for the explanation of his doctrines, and if there were no ground for believing that they were collected rather for book-making purposes. The examples themselves would not create this suspicion so much as the manner in which they have been translated. In a grammar, bare, bald, literal translation is all that is required, but that is essential. Ornament would not only not be expected, but would be utterly unsuitable, and would materially impair the usefulness of the work. Capt. Raverty has permitted himself to be carried away by an inconsiderate vanity, and has wretchedly marred the best, almost the only good, feature of his production. The student will often get more assistance from an unadorned, faithful translation than even from the best rules; hence in Capt. Raverty's grammar such translation would have been of tenfold value; but what is the perplexed inquirer to do, when, instead of literal rendering of word for word, he finds most nauseously diluted paraphrases, got up quite regardless of expense, which however are of no use to any one except to the grammarian, who no doubt each time that he had achieved one, took a step backwards, gazed at his creation with fervent admiration, put his head slightly on one side, and exclaimed, 'Isn't it pretty?' Let the reader look for instance at the first example in p. 95, with its 'Phoenix of one's desires,' and 'the immortal bird.' Or take this hemistich of five words: '*If a devotee be ill*—five words also in the original; the Bombay Captain renders it in the third-rate reporter style: 'If a man in the constant habit of praying may become afflicted with sickness.' For a 'rose' he says 'queen of flowers;' for 'birds' he says 'feathered race,' for 'wine' 'juice of the grape,' and so on to an incredible extent. There is a couplet of Hamid's in p. 94 also, the literal translation of which is: 'When his justice's sun did set, the dark night of oppression rose, the land became dark;' which Capt. Raverty sweetly beautifies thus. 'Since the bright luminary of his equity and justice *hath* set, the black night of oppression *has* set in (!), and filled the land with darkness.' What is the learner, who is not supposed to have spent seventeen years on Oriental languages, to make of such elegance? He wants broad, and the grammarian gives him—not a stone, but—wind. The reader will also observe

that in the example just cited 'justice' is rendered by 'equity and justice;' on the same page he will find 'carelessness and inadvertency' where the original has only *neglect*; and so he will find throughout the book such geminous and even tergeminous renderings to the number of at least two hundred. *Cui bono*? Is it to exhibit the author's opulence of diction? such an exhibition, we fear, would be lost on the frontier officers whom Capt. Raverty expects to use his grammar. Or is it that Capt. Raverty has so little confidence in the expressiveness of his own tongue that he must use two or three words, where one has sufficed the Khatak or the Afridi? Or is it that he wishes to give the purchaser his guinea's worth of type and paper and twaddle? One might forgive this and put it down as an unavoidable idiosyncrasy of the enthusiastic hierophant of Afghan mysteries, were there not other offences in his translations less pardonable: words omitted, sentences transposed, sense distorted, with a most reckless disregard of the wants of his pupils. It is absolutely harrowing to think how some young officer of the P. I. F. at Bahadur Khel or Tak will try to beguile his solitude with a dip into this handsome volume, and will be puzzled and bewildered by the heartless cruelty of Capt. Raverty.

This notice has already become too long, so that we can give no more extracts; but some translations are so bad that they raise a doubt as to the author's knowledge of the language. In p. 72 a line reads, 'though his house or goods be spoiled;' Capt. Raverty renders, 'whether his dwellings be sacked and pillaged, or filled with wealth and goods.' There is nothing in the original to correspond to the second clause, though it is easy to see that the translator was led wrong by the position of words in the Pushto line, which is, 'though his house be spoiled, or goods'; a grievous blunder, at best. P. 111 'Like as one forgetteth a deceased person of hundred years;' the original says, 'as one forgets a person dead a hundred years.' P. 119. 'This unembellished firmament became adorned with ornaments and embellishments; which the diamonds of omnipotence and power have carved.' Delicious! The diamonds have probably taken the head of the table. Besides mistaking the construction, as usual, he also reads *kandile* for *gandile*; the proper translation of the second line is simply: 'Embroidered with the gems of his power.'—But enough.

As far as the study of Pushto is concerned, it is really to be regretted that Captain Raverty turns out a charlatan, and all his statements of fact or science must be taken *cum grano salis*. He publishes (p. viii.) to the world that it is impossible for any one on the North West Frontier to know Pushto. He is as much mistaken in this, as when he calls the Prophet's flower a violet (p. 100), or derives the name of the Pathans from an imaginary place called *Pash*, and an impossible word *tin*. There are officers from whose pen we should like very much to see a concise grammar of the language of the Afghans. We have heard Captain James deliver a long address in Pushto, which was a model of idiomatic ease and vigorous native eloquence? Colonel Lumsden is said to be second to none in his knowledge of the language; or if Colonel Vaughan could be induced to prepare a second edition of his Grammar, it would be of great assistance. As it is, we do not hesitate to pronounce Vaughan's Grammar as an introduction to Pushto far preferable to the book here noticed.



